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GREECE: ILLUSION OF STABILITY **Jim Hougan**

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LETTERS

death of an Athenian

New York City

DEAR SIRS: In your issue of Sept. 4, 1972 I reviewed *Inside the Colonels' Greece* by "Athenian." I noted then that the author preferred to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals "by the Pashas in Athens." There is no longer such fear. The author, Rodis Roufos, a distinguished intellectual and diplomat who resigned after the coup of 1967, died recently at the age of 48.

This is a great loss for the democratic Greece of tomorrow, and it came at a moment when there seems to be new hope that the tyranny will not last very much longer.

Spyridon Granitsas

toast to the generations

New York City

DEAR SIRS: Janet Malcolm's article, "Growing Up Puerile" [*The Nation*, Feb. 12], is a lucid discussion of an intriguing topic, witty and stimulating. As far as the outlook is concerned, no reason for despair. May they ever be right, but right or wrong, my children and my parents.

J. W. Alcantara

postal joke

Champaign, Ill.

DEAR SIRS: Congratulations on your editorial ["Call That a Service?" *The Nation*, Feb. 12] confirming my own perceptions of the deteriorating quality of postal service. Ironically, that issue was lost in the mail and I was able to read your editorial only by purchasing a copy at the newsstand.

Fenwick Anderson

on behalf of a colleague

New York City

DEAR SIRS: Peter Sourian's "Open Admissions: A Pilgrim's Progress" [*The Nation*, Feb. 12] unfairly maligns my City University colleague, Prof. Howard Adelson. Professor Adelson's teaching ability is denigrated by an unnamed "former student." In the absence of any evidence, Adelson is described as a racist, this time by a named individual, who, in the language of your novelist-author, conveyed this horrendous charge "gently, tolerantly (*sic*), definitely, convincingly." Professor Adelson, with whom I have cheerfully disagreed on many matters over the past twenty-five years, is quite capable of fighting his own battles, but I understand that he is out of the country at the moment.

Edward Pessen
Distinguished Professor of History

corrections

At the request of Irving Louis Horowitz we would like to note the following corrections to an article of his which appeared in our issue of Jan. 15 ("The Operators Make Their Play") and to a letter from him in the issue of Feb. 5:

(*1*) Pearl K. Bell, the literary critic, is the wife of Mr. Daniel Bell, as correctly stated in the original article.

(*2*) Mr. Bell did not urge the re-election of President Nixon, as Horowitz had stated, but supported Sen. George McGovern. We regret the errors and offer Mr. and Mrs. Bell our apologies; Mr. Horowitz has already offered his directly.

—The Editors

EDITORIALS

The Man Without an Image

J. Edgar Hoover was an icon. For nearly fifty years, with the aid of self-generated publicity and TV dramatization, he presented an incomparable image. Presidents came and went, but the head of the FBI remained in all his glamour. Yet he was mortal, and it fell to the lot of Richard M. Nixon to mourn and replace him.

What does a canny President do in so delicate a situation? There were quite a number of qualified candidates —prominent lawyers, judges, former Senators, one or two conspicuously successful police commissioners. But the selection of *any* name figure could lead to trouble because critics would inevitably compare him with the late-lamented Hoover. The new man might be superior in every other respect, but he could not match Hoover as a symbol.

Better, then, to choose a man with no image, or one so feeble that people might think he must be somebody or why would the President appoint him? Another consideration was that the appointee should be politically faithful to the President—Mr. Nixon never takes chances on that score. The process of Presidential cogitation ended with the appointment of L. Patrick Gray III as *acting* director of the FBI.

That was in May 1972 and one excuse for the tentative appointment was that elections approached and Mr. Nixon wanted everybody to know that the FBI was to be kept out of politics. Now, it must be said for Mr. Hoover that he had kept it out, but Mr. Gray, it soon appeared, was as intensely political as Mr. Nixon himself. During the campaign he not only made stump speeches on behalf of his patron but in September 1972 called on twenty-one FBI field offices to "furnish expert advice on how the President and his aides could best handle campaign issues related to criminal justice." So says *Time* (March 5). Nor did the FBI break its neck to follow the trail of the Watergate affair into the White House and other sensitive areas: as "acting" chief, he paid his political dues.

While he was thus keeping Mr. Hoover's chair warm for a permanent appointee, people got used to having Mr. Gray around, the more so because he was a nonentity and, in a superficial view, offered not much of a target. He and Mr. Nixon had met in 1947 at a cocktail party and had been friendly ever since. An investigative reporter could hardly make an extravaganza out of that, nor out of the fact that he had become a lawyer while he was in the Navy and had retired in 1960 after twenty years' service. The only mark against him was trivial: he had been nominated for a federal judgeship, but the nomination had been withdrawn before the American Bar Association could call public attention to his meager qualifications.

But if there was little reason to complain of Mr. Gray as a stand-in, once Mr. Nixon nominated him as permanent director of the FBI several Senators had plenty to say. "In the nine months that Mr. Gray has held the post of acting director," Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia

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complained, "there has been increasing criticism of [the] bureau as becoming more and more political." Mr. Byrd is a Democrat, but a very conservative one, and his opposition will do Mr. Gray no good. Another formidable opponent is William Proxmire, probably the chief watchdog of the Senate. Proxmire contends that Gray is holding his post illegally, and cites an opinion by Comptroller General Elmer B. Staats that vacancies in the executive branch that require Senate confirmation can be filled temporarily for not more than thirty days. Accordingly, Proxmire has called on the President to appoint someone else to head the FBI *pro tem* while Gray's nomination is under consideration by the Senate.

The Gray nomination warrants detailed, unhurried scrutiny. If he is confirmed, he is likely to serve for life; that, at least, is the Hoover precedent. His actions during his nine months as acting head should be studied not only for their bearing on his fitness for this highly important office but for their prognostic value. An important area is that of bugging and wire tapping, both legal and illegal. Gray has testified that the FBI has no dossiers on newsmen. We know from Daniel Schorr's *Harper's* article, "A Chilling Experience," that the statement is false. Then there is the case of Jack Anderson and his associate, Les Whitten. Whitten was arrested on January 31 while he was reporting on the return of documents stolen from the government by a band of militant Indians. A grand jury refused to indict him, but no sooner had an FBI agent clapped the handcuffs on Whitten than the agency got a court order allowing it to check the telephone records of both Whitten and Anderson, going back to July 1972, four months before the documents were stolen.

The FBI got its hands not only on Anderson's office telephone records but also those of calls he made from home. The G-men tried to find out which B-52 crewmen had protested to Anderson by overseas telephone about routinized flight patterns over Hanoi in last December's bombing. There were also telephone discussions about the Watergate scandal, secret drug-smuggling reports, and other stories. The agents seemed to be particularly interested in anyone who might have been slipping stories to Anderson about material in the FBI files. Of course, forays of this kind will tend to dry up Anderson's sources, and those of other reporters, and black out the little information Americans get about devious goings-on in government.

For all these reasons, a thorough debate on Gray's decisions and connections, past and present, should be made the order of the day. There are numerous former FBI people, including some, like Jack Levine and William Turner, who have inside information which the Senators should evaluate.

For the first time in history the Senate can have a say in selecting the man who is to head the FBI. It is also the only good chance the Senate will get, between now and 1976, to take a look at the bureau itself, its policies, personnel and performance. Even if Sen. Mike Mansfield, the Democratic leader, shows little enthusiasm for the task, the Gray nomination should be thoroughly and meticulously examined, over a period of time, so that objectors and critics and former agents, from coast to

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The Nation is published weekly (except biweekly in July and August) by the Nation Company and copyright 1973 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. .

Subscription Price: One year $15; two years, $27.50. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give five weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION *Volume 216*
No. 11

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MAR 9 '73

coast, can voice their views. It was clever of the President to delay sending Gray's name to the Senate until after the election, but if that body confirms him, it will be charged with responsibility for vesting the power of the office in a man who is the personal and political representative of Richard M. Nixon, but devoid of other visible qualifications for the post.

The State of Hunger

Along with his State of the Union address, the President should be obliged to give a State of Hunger address. Millions of people continue to go without adequate food; some, indeed, live very close to the starvation level. This is known and acknowledged by official Washington, which regularly says it's sorry and promises that in just a few months—in the Nixon Administration the deadline has always been some sentimental point on the calendar: "by the beginning of the next school year" or "by Thanksgiving"—the matter will be solved. Here's how things stand now, and as they are likely to stand for a while, considering the shortcomings of the Nixon budget.

School programs. At least 3.5 million needy children have been left out of the school lunch program entirely, although many non-needy children get assistance. School lunch appropriations are in two parts. One part is a "general" fund of about $340 million which subsidizes each school lunch by 8¢. That is for all kids, whether they need the subsidy or not. The other portion of the program—$620 million last year; $663 million in the Nixon budget for 1974—supplies 15¢ per "reduced price" lunch and 23¢ per free lunch. That's for the poor children. But the Senate Nutrition subcommittee figures there are at least 12 million needy children and the U.S. Census counts 14 million "poor" or "near poor"; the 1973 budget covered only 8.4 million. Nixon claims his budget will take care of another million, but that's doubtful.

One of the big problems in expanding the lunch program is getting kitchen and serving equipment into schools that have none—about 18,000 schools in deep rural and inner-city areas: the schools that officials would like to forget exist at all. If they don't have lunchroom facilities, they can't get lunch subsidies. To equip them, Congress would have to appropriate, and Nixon spend, about $40 million (to put that in perspective, it is about one-fifth what the budget contains to bail out Litton Industries from its defense failures). For facilities, Nixon is asking only $16.1 million, and the Agriculture committees will doubtless rubber-stamp that request, as they always do. But Nixon plans to use almost all that money to "modernize" existing lunchroom facilities; only 1,300 schools that now have no equipment at all are slated to get it. That leaves, at best, 16,700 schools still going hungry at lunchtime.

As for school breakfasts, the pilot program worked so splendidly that last year Congress took it off pilot status, saying the federal government would give breakfast money to any schools that applied, needy or not. Having said so, however, Congress did not supply enough money. The $52.3 million appropriated last year covered 1.8 million of the nation's 52 million school-age children, and Nixon's request for $60 million will cover only 2.1 million. There are 6,000 schools (of the nation's 100,000) in the program, and an estimated 20,000 have applied. The Nixon breakfast budget would supply only operating money, not money to equip those schools that have no equipment. But even if operating money alone were the consideration, the Senate Nutrition subcommittee estimates that at least four times what Nixon is asking would be necessary to meet the current demand. What good is the breakfast program? A typical answer comes from a Mapleton, Colo., principal: "We've had 25 per cent less tardiness and at least 10 per cent less truancy since the breakfast program began."

As a final twist of the blade, Nixon is asking only $24.4 million for the school milk program—down from $96.4 million spent in fiscal 1973. He says the other portions of the school food program are working so well the milk isn't needed.

Family food programs. For four years, the Nixon Administration has been promising to establish the food stamp program in every county; 242 counties are still without it, leaving the needy citizens in those areas with nothing but the old commodity program—cornmeal, skimpy beans, etc.—which everyone admits cannot sustain life in any meaningful form. About 2.6 million Americans exist primarily on such commodities, which are purchased by the Department of Agriculture not to feed people but to support farm prices. The items on the commodity shopping list vary according to agri-business needs. At present poor people are not receiving their usual ration of nonfat dried milk because Agriculture does not want to affect dairy prices.

Heartless as the commodity program may sound, the problem is actually much worse. The Nutrition subcommittee estimates that 8.2 million needy Americans are receiving no food assistance at all. So much for Nixon's four-year-old promise to "end hunger in America itself for all time."

The best that can be said for the federal food stamp program, which provides about $112 per month in food subsidies for a family of four, is that it interrupts the routine of hunger. The Nixon budget asks for only $2.2 billion for food stamps, down from last year's $2.5 billion. Although at least 25 million Americans are eligible for food stamps, Nixon has budgeted for only 12.1 million. The USDA argues that the eligibles are declining in number because "able-bodied adults are now required to register for and accept work or training as a condition of eligibility," and that "the decreasing unemployment rate will remove some persons from participation." A more accurate appraisal of the situation is made by the Senate Nutrition subcommittee, which reports that the needy have come swarming in to sign up for the work registration requirement, but that there is no work for them. The subcommittee recently received a report from Virginia that of 2,000 work registrants in one office six were placed on jobs.

What the Nixon budget does is ask for just enough money to perpetuate the "hunger gap" that federal and state officials have obviously come to accept as a permanent rumble in the gut of America.

ROBERT SHERRILL

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Clumsy Colonels

It is widely believed, particularly in Athens, that the CIA was the power behind the Greek colonels' *Putsch* of 1967. Since then, the rather chuckle-headed U.S. Government policy has been to "encourage" the junta to forswear rule by police despotism and restore a color of democracy to its methods—thus making it less of an embarrassment in America's "free world" network—meanwhile supporting the regime from a generous purse and lending it countenance by Mr. Agnew's nostalgic "homecoming," the Christmas reunion of the Nixon daughters in Athens, and the selection of Piraeus as home port for the U.S. Sixth Fleet.

But the colonels have not improved their political manners, nor have they wormed their way into the hearts of their countrymen—particularly into those of the students, always a group difficult for tyrants to control, since they are not readily subject to economic reprisals and even second-string military bullies find it awkward to torture such young political enemies. The junta is not doing well (see p. 329, this issue), and it begins to look as though the Nixon Administration is losing patience with so feckless an ally. Barbara Bright reports in *The Washington Post* (February 17) that the National Security Council has on its March agenda a re-examination of U.S. policy toward Greece. At stake, presumably, would be the annual $60 million in military sales credits which the regime has been enjoying annually. Prime Minister George Papadopoulos has, somewhat grandiloquently, renounced the annual $10 million in direct aid with which we have been supporting him, his motives being in all likelihood threefold: to wave the flag of national self-reliance, to quiet the complaints of an increasingly restive U.S. Congress, and to forestall cancellation of the remittance from this end, rumors of which had reached him. However, the Security Council will probably ask itself whether a man who so cheerfully gives up $10 million is in serious need of $60 million.

Meanwhile, Piraeus is proving to be anything but a happy home away from home for Yankee sailors. They are not subject to local courts, which irritates the Greeks, but they are subject to local insults and brickbats, which irritates their nautical pride. And now it seems that, Mr. Nixon to the contrary notwithstanding, a safe harbor in Piraeus is not at all essential to our pacific influence on Arab-Israeli affairs. High military spokesmen in Israel assured Senator Church, when he visited their country recently, that they felt sufficiently at ease as long as American ships were anywhere in the Mediterranean. In fact, they pointed out that Piraeus was perhaps a less appropriate port than others in the area, since the Greeks had too many of their nationals resident in Arab countries to take any active part in pro-Israeli maneuvers. Mr. Nixon's recent statement that aid to Greece was vital to any policy designed to save Israel so alarmed the colonels that they banned his statement from the local papers.

Meanwhile the students of Athens are warring with the police, retired Greek generals sign petitions on behalf of the young dissidents, Coca-Cola flows at the expense of Greek bottlers, and American sailors are accused of mugging Athens taxi drivers. The colonels do not seem to have a knack for ruling by the fist and they certainly cannot prevail by charm. Mr. Nixon has never shown much aversion to friendly despots, but neither has he much respect for teams that can't win ball games.

Dayan, Meir & the Libyan Plane

Jon Kimche

London

During the four days immediately after the Libyan plane disaster in Sinai, it was Defense Minister Moshe Dayan who took charge of the Israeli reaction—except for a brief unpolitical statement of sorrow at the loss of life from Prime Minister Golda Meir. For the rest, Israel's leading political figures virtually abdicated during that critical period. It was said officially by the Prime Minister's office that the decision had been a military one, and that it was up to the defense establishment to sort it out. Beyond that, nothing came from the Prime Minister's office nor from the Foreign Ministry. For once even Eban was silent.

There were three distinct reasons for this. Foremost among them was that, while ministers talked and argued, Dayan stepped in and took full charge of the investigation, on the basis of which he insisted that Israel should assume at least partial responsibility for an error.

That was the public aspect. In private, in the discussions with the Prime Minister and other ministers, the subject was most sensitive. For Dayan's inquiry had established that the order to shoot at the plane's fuel-filled wing had been given by the Chief of Staff, Gen. David Eleazar. Before Eleazar took over from General Bar-Lev a little more than a year ago, Dayan strongly resisted his appointment. Eleazar, one of Israel's most popular and likable officers, had proved himself an excellent field commander on the Northern Front. But Dayan argued that a Chief of Staff required some special qualities—and particularly the ability to make correct decisions under stress.

However, Eleazar was Mrs. Meir's choice and, short of resigning from the Cabinet, Dayan had no way to assert his position, in view of the support for her candidate by almost the whole Cabinet, including Eban, Sapir, Allon and Galilee. On February 24, Dayan told a press conference that Israel had committed a serious error of judgment and that the order to fire on the plane had been given on the authority of the Chief of Staff. Dayan left it at that, but it is unlikely to be the end of that aspect of the tragedy.

In another context, however, Dayan went further. Against the initial opposition of a number of ministers, he agreed to collaborate with any responsible party in getting to the root of the tragedy and—presumably—drawing the necessary inferences regarding those responsible in Israel and also in Cairo.

In short, during the first and most critical hundred

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hours, it was Dayan who spoke for Israel, and who took responsibility for the overall situation, but not for the shooting at the plane.

It has naturally been asked, in Israel and outside, why Mrs. Meir has allowed this to happen, or encouraged it to happen. She is not as a rule a back-seat driver; still less, since she has become Prime Minister, a back-seat passenger. The explanation given—apart from the initial reason that this was a purely defense matter—is that Mrs. Meir was advised "to keep her hands clean" before going to Washington: to be able to disclaim any responsibility for the action of the Israel Air Force and, if necessary, take measures to punish those found responsible.

The third explanation was that the majority of the Cabinet thought that Dayan, by taking responsibility, would considerably damage his standing with the electorate. Judging by Israeli reaction, however, it now seems that Dayan's evident frankness and openness on this issue has reflected greatly to his credit, while the silence of the majority of the Cabinet in public, and their charges against Dayan in private (insofar as anything is private for long in Israel) have had the opposite effect. Events following upon the tragic and unnecessary error by the Chief of Staff have demonstrated to the Israelis that the one man who is capable of leadership in crisis is Dayan.

Other factors tend to strengthen this opinion. Dayan has not shared the view, propagated by Mrs. Meir and Eban in recent weeks, that there is no need to change Israeli policy in relation to a peace settlement, and that the Middle East is no longer a crisis area that should figure prominently on President Nixon's agenda. Dayan believes the opposite to be true. He points to the four major terrorist attempts that have been foiled by Israel's security forces, in conjunction with Interpol, and that might have led to a massacre in Haifa far exceeding the attack by Japanese zealots at Lydda. There was also an abortive attack on the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest, and an attempt to hijack a liner en route to Haifa.

In support of Dayan's forebodings one must cite recent declarations by Libyan leaders. Among others, Colonel Ghaddafy told the Palestinian resistance leaders to stop pussyfooting and to take a leaf out of the Japanese attack on Lydda. "We want more Lyddas," he said. He also urged the Palestinians to start making trouble in the occupied areas and "if the 600,000 Palestinians who live there have to perish in the cause of their freedom, then let them perish."

The Egyptian attitude has also not been encouraging. The terms which Hafez Ismail said were the elements of Egypt's new peace offensive were such as to warrant even less hope than when President Sadat first made his suggestions for opening the Canal. He has been discussing privately with his advisers the as yet unpublished terms which he proposes to advance when the time comes to consider the Palestine settlement, and before there can be any settlement in general with Israel. He has told his colleagues that he will insist on Israel's withdrawing to the original Partition Resolution frontier of November 1947, which would involve an Israeli withdrawal from western and central Galilee, from the Lydda-Ramleh sector, from Jaffa and from the northern Negev, including Beersheba.

Mrs. Meir and the majority of the Cabinet believe that it is therefore necessary for Israel only to sit tight, because in time the impossibility of the Egyptian proposals will become evident to all. Dayan does not believe in diplomatic *immobilisme*. He has come to the conclusion that the earlier Canal plan of 1969 is no longer practicable and he has been preparing new ideas for a local settlement, first with Egypt, then with Hussein.

He did not say much about them before Mrs. Meir had a chance to talk with President Nixon, but in coming months one may assume that the new Dayan plans will figure more prominently in the minds of Middle East leaders than will the memory of the downed airliner; but that tragedy, quite apart from issues of responsibility, should give Israel—leaders and public alike—cause for a general stocktaking of policy and attitudes.

Mr. Kimche was until recently editor of New Middle East.

SMALL CAR IMPORTS

DETROIT GOES MULTINATIONAL

LEO FENSTER
Mr. Fenster, a retired auto worker by trade, was for twenty-six years an officer of the UAW, during which time he handled in-shop grievances and worked out agreements at the General Motors plant in Cleveland.

Imports of foreign cars into the United States in the last two years have amounted to well over 3 million units and have absorbed about 15 per cent of the domestic market. There is nothing particularly new in this; what is new is the startling growth of the Japanese imports, which totaled about 1 million in 1971 and 1972. That high sales level has continued and the Japanese cars have been firmly established here, despite the introduction of the American Vega, Pinto and Colt. In fact, year-end 1972 sales were higher than ever, and in January of 1973 they rose to 16 per cent. No one expects the dollar devaluation to change the picture greatly.

The imports problem adversely affects our staggering imbalance of payments to the tune of $1.5 billion to $2 billion a year, and thus helps along the inflationary spiral, but most notably it continues to worry workers in the auto industry. It means the direct loss of upward of 100,000 jobs. Indirectly, in the production of steel and parts, it accounts for another sizable bloc of unemployment. The job problem results in steady pressure from the leaders of trade unions involved, particularly the United Auto Workers. They need a solution.

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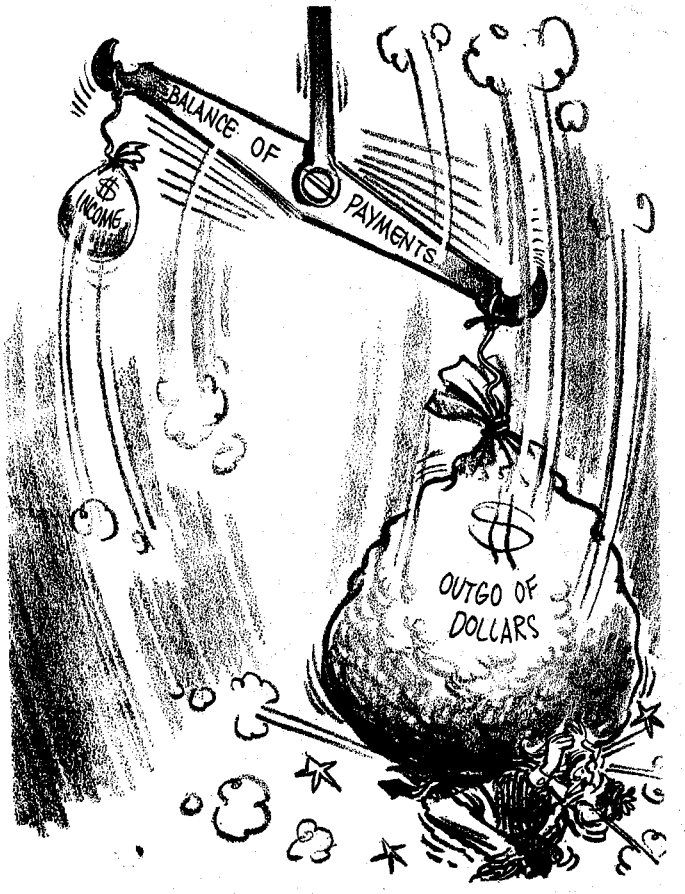
There have been grumbling and complaints also from dealers and servicemen, somewhat muted because 1972 was a good year. But they at least have options: they can go into foreign car dealerships or servicing. Displaced workers or workers who cannot find their way into the comparatively good auto jobs have no options.

It is noteworthy, however, that the Big Three auto corporations, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, have not complained or asked for relief. They do not want tariff barriers or import quotas. They are, in truth, entirely happy. The imports are a blessing for them; they have met the problem with a three-pronged program that involves greater profits and stability for themselves.

The first thrust by the Big Three to meet the import challenge was to develop mini-cars of their own. This they did with evident reluctance and only when it was clear that the overall game required competitive stalking horses. (At that, Chrysler produces its mini-car abroad.) But there were also advantages. A mini-car involves new methods and, in the case of General Motors, new facilities. The net effect has been to increase productivity. General Motors built the new plant, its Vega complex, in Lordstown, Ohio. This factory is the seventh wonder of industry. Tour the place on any workday and you will find yourself accompanied by visitors from all over the world. GM has set up a special team to oversee the tourist operation. A good many of the sightseers are industrial people, and when the French Broadcasting Company was making a TV documentary on automation it sent a crew to Lordstown.

The normal pace of an auto assembly line is a little better than one car a minute. At the Vega plant, the average is 101 an hour and the immediate goal is 109. This drive by the management has caused frequent conflict with the union, but it is a good bet that, one way or another, the 109 goal will be reached. Most Vegas are sold by dealers to individual customers. The client indicates the style, color and optional equipment he wants. The order number is assigned to the Vega assembly line and the parts for that specific car come to the right place at the right time without a hitch or the loss of a second. The planning and pacing are accomplished by a computer. Other plants are similarly computerized, but on the Vega line, taking the place of many human spot welders, are hulking robots. They are computer programmed to make the necessary welds as the automobile body passes in front of them. And if one assembly is a regular passenger car and the next a station wagon, the robot will completely adjust for each body type.

Despite the advantages of productivity gained from the attention paid to the minis, the auto corporations do not put all, or even their major, emphasis on developing a competitive small car. One has only to try to recall the last time he heard a commercial for the Vega, Pinto or Colt on TV or radio, or has seen any ads for them in newspapers or journals, to realize that these cars are not being pushed. They are left to sell on the momentum they create by their mere existence. The Big Three want their sales within this country to consist basically of standard-size cars.



Don Hesse, St. Louis Globe Democrat

Hence the second prong of Detroit's strategy. It is no secret that the Big Three (and even American Motors, as a sort of small brother) are multinational corporations, but many Americans might be surprised to learn the extent of the non-U.S. manufacture of autos by the industry's leaders. In 1971, the last year for which figures are complete, they manufactured more than 5 million cars in foreign lands, as opposed to 10.4 million at home. This means that almost one-third of U.S. auto corporation manufacture was carried out abroad.

The Big Three employ more than 1.433 million people; 920,000 at home and 513,000 abroad. Thus almost 36 per cent of their employment is overseas. When it came time for them to meet any possible threat from foreign imports, Japanese in particular, they did not act to protect domestic jobs. Instead they moved to protect their interests in the usual way; they began a program of building new plants in Eastern Asia.

The Ford Motor Co. has built, or is planning, manufacturing units in Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan, the Philippines and even, according to reliable reports, South Vietnam itself. Ford, as a matter of fact, has the largest foreign manufacturing operation of the Big Three. It has complete manufacturing or assembly and sales units in twenty-seven countries. In West Germany alone Ford produced 767,000 cars and trucks, more than half of them being exported from that country, in large measure enjoying the apparatus and advantages afforded by the European Common Market. However, when Henry Ford was asked to build a truck plant in the Soviet Union he said "No!" He would have been expected to put up the

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plant and get out, and Ford was more interested in the action that comes after a plant is built. He expects a good deal of that action to develop now in the Asia Pacific area, where he visited nine countries early in 1971. It is not generally known that Ford owns 50 per cent of the Automatic Transmission Company in Japan itself. This plant produces 770 Ford automatic transmissions daily for use in Japanese cars.

Chrysler is a latecomer to the foreign production field, but its growth rate in recent years has exceeded those of both General Motors and Ford. Moreover, Chrysler is moving to the General Motors concept of 100 per cent ownership of foreign installations. It has now assumed 90 per cent ownership of its Mexican plants and is doing the same worldwide. It has seventy-six manufacturing plants outside the United States, and it is a little frightening to note that in 1973 and 1974 Chrysler plans to import 92,000 Colts built in Southeast Asia.

General Motors has, of course, a mammoth overseas operation involving almost a third of its more than 750,000 employees. These are scattered in seventeen countries where the corporation has manufacturing and assembly plants. It has an Asian operation in Malaysia, is projecting another in Korea where it has entered into an accord with the Shinjin Group to set up General Motors Korea, and will soon be operating a plant in the Philippines, where it will produce the Holden.

The building of plants, however, is not the entire picture of penetration in Pacific Asia, and here emerges the third thrust of the overall plan. Both General Motors and Chrysler have bought into the Japanese auto industry and Ford is negotiating to do the same. It was thought by many, and is still assumed by some, that Japanese industry was closed to foreign investment. That was so in the past, but times have changed. Chrysler bought 15 per cent of the famed Mitsubishi, with options to buy another 20 per cent, and even to raise its ownership potential to 45 per cent. Chrysler's present $28.5 million investment is expected to rise to close to $100 million in the next few years. Mitsubishi sold on a worldwide scale just under 475,000 vehicles in 1971.

General Motors meanwhile has acquired a significant piece of Isuzu Motors of Japan. It has agreed not to attempt majority ownership of that corporation, but General Motors policy has always been 100 per cent ownership and its Eastern Asia operation is now a major concern. A few months ago it entered into agreements with Isuzu, Kawasaki and C. Itoh to build heavy auto transmissions and gas turbine engines. The Japanese companies are the minority shareholders. GM starts off with 50 per cent. There are GM production engineers, market specialists and manufacturing specialists within the Isuzu organization. GM will handle Isuzu production all over the world. "There are plenty of places for new franchises," said a spokesman. It is even said, and reliably, that in a spin-off from Mitsubishi, where Chrysler is the heavy investor, there is a motor division where none of those recently added to the board speaks Japanese.

An intriguing Asian project is operation Philippines, which will function according to an international cartelist agreement: GM will build the Holden, Chrysler the Colt, Ford the Cortina and Escort, Mitsubishi the Minicas, Toyota the sedans and Volkswagen its Beetles. The field and the techniques have been divided, much as is being done in other sections of the world, much as was done specifically in Latin America, where agreement was reached among the world's auto producers to use low production manufacturing equipment and charge high prices. [See Fenster: "Mexican Auto Swindle," *The Nation*, June 2, 1969.]

When one observes the current growth of American industrial power in Asia it is not frivolous to suggest that a motive for continuing the Vietnamese War for ten years was the unexpressed desire to make the non-Communist section of Eastern Asia safe for American factories and capital investment. If so, then an at least temporary partial success has been achieved. And most outstandingly for the auto industry.

The total of U.S. automobile capital invested in the auto industry outside the United States has now reached the phenomenal figure of approximately $4 billion. With that kind of investment, it is easy to see why U.S. corporations do not oppose the imports. (In fact they contribute directly to this trade, with such cars manufactured abroad as the Colt by Mitsubishi, the Opel, the Capri and a number of others.) The auto unions have depended upon attrition to prevent workers with low seniority from losing their jobs. But that does nothing to maintain a balance between rising production and population on the one hand and an essential equivalent increase of jobs on the other.

When the entire national picture is examined, it becomes indisputable that exporting capital means exporting jobs. It is always well to remember that about 15 million more Americans would be unemployed if Social Security and pensions did not take them out of the labor market. But the retired population is now at a peak and in a very few years will probably level off as a percentage of the total population. This threatens to produce growing unemployment. With imports on the one side and cybernetics on the other, the auto industry will at best fail to take up any of the slack. Thus it will contribute to the problem in this country.

The United Auto Workers is aware of these possibilities. Its president, Leonard Woodcock, has put forward some novel, if debatable ideas. In interviews with Japanese businessmen, he urged them to establish a two-way flow of capital vis-à-vis the United States and classed the present one-way flow as undesirable. He expressly asked Toyota to build its cars here, thereby indicating a longing to improve the diminishing prospects for auto jobs at home. And he appears to understand that a purely domestic solution is impossible in the presence of the international cartelist automobile conglomerate. "Great financial concentration," he told a convention of Japanese auto unionists, "always means great concentration of political and, ultimately, police and military powers. . . . While we still have time, it is imperative that we—Japanese, European, Latin and North American auto and agriculture implement workers—work both collectively and separately for uniform, worldwide regulations on the operations of multinational corporations. . . . Auto work-

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ers throughout the world must begin moving toward international cooperation and solidarity."

There is the possibility that an international auto workers' conference may be convened soon to work out programs to meet the depredations of the multinational auto industry. Woodcock appears to be pushing in that direction; he has set up contacts throughout the world. But establishing a program will not be easy. What would be good for employment in one country would not necessarily be advantageous in another. One proposal that would definitely spread jobs is the shorter work week. Japan, for example, now has a forty-eight-hour week in the auto industry; cutting it to forty would open up job opportunities. In the United States a reduced work week for auto workers is long overdue, given the cybernetic development of the industry. There ought also to be a reduction of the tremendous wage disparities among different countries, so that these do not operate to create a one-way flow of mini-cars.

Other remedies can be worked out by an international auto union conference. Right now it appears to be the best instrument available. □

GREECE

THE ILLUSION OF STABILITY

JIM HOUGAN

Mr. Hougan is an Alicia Patterson Foundation fellow on leave from the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times. *He is the author of* Anticipating Machine *(Quixote Press) and is at work on a book about counter-cultures. Mr. Hougan, who was in Athens at the time of the coup, visited Greece recently to study the developments of the intervening five years.*

> The already thriving Nick-and-the-Beanstalk growth-and-improvement program is being splashed with an added dash of Vigoro. The new gardeners have the green thumbs *and* the green stuff to reap a mighty harvest. —*Fielding's Travel Guide to Europe* (Chapter on Greece)

London

If you go to Greece, don't expect the trains there to run on time. Greater priorities prevail and, besides, it isn't that kind of dictatorship any more. Nor are there tanks on the streets, frequent military parades, or screams from the prisons. The GNP is up and torture is down. Where there were once more than 6,000 political prisoners, there are now said to be "only" about 300.

Indeed, the surface of the country seems so much as it was before George Papadopoulos and his cabal of second-stringers blitzed into power on NATO tanks in 1967 that a tourist is unlikley to notice the transformations. Greece today is a highly strung police state run with the purposeful caution of a recent cardiac victim. The government's survival as a dictatorship remains its first concern. To achieve that end it relies upon domestic pacification, foreign investment, American tolerance, martial law, a dilating police force, purges of the professions, media control and military hardware.

As parts of the pacification campaign, strategic minorities are favored with special dispensations and relentless optimism is cranked out on official and puppet presses. The controlled radio and television confine the "news" to the rosy end of the spectrum. Five-year plans relating to nearly every area of human activity are spawned by the ministries with an almost mechanical confidence. The political indifference of potentially volatile groups, such as students, is encouraged by a mixture of positive and negative incentives, privileges and intimidation. The elevation of soccer from sport to national obsession is nurtured with substantial government subsidies, nationalistic rhetoric and disquieting allusions to cultural "purity." Politics has become exclusively the province of the regime, dissident intellectuals and a rebellious (if prudent) bourgeoisie.

But despite its meticulous attention to the details of its endurance, the junta is increasingly faced with contradictions of its own devising, signs of internal dissension and more open and pugnacious resistance. In some ways, the regime seems more fragile today than at any time since the coup. Government speeches remain confident, abstract and interminable, abounding in talismanic nouns like "realism," "patience," "development" and "foreign exchange." But the rhetoric of the colonels (they have yet to be promoted in the minds of the ex-electorate) begins to backfire, and their self-contradictions and defaulted promises become more glaring.

The official justification for the *coup d'état* of April 21, 1967 was that it would save the Greeks from the "menace of communism," establish a transitional government and create a more workable constitution. Almost six years later, the "transitional" government remains in power, a third of the population is subject to martial law, and sixty constitutional provisions are still suspended. Consistent in its inconsistency, the junta has established diplomatic, cultural and economic ties with Russia, Albania, Romania and other Socialist nations. China recently dispatched its Ping-Pong team to Athens, and a diplomatic delegation is searching the Greek capital for a suitable embassy site. The junta is doing the same in Peking. Meanwhile, Russia and the Balkans are amply represented at the summer arts festivals, while Dutch, Italian, American, English and Scandinavian artists are conspicuously absent.

None of this is particularly furtive. The Russian construction project and mining operation at Philippi, and the presence of Oriental Maoists in Syntagma Square, strike the average Greek as peculiar evidence of anti-

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Communist fervor. Indeed, resistance to the junta comes as often from the far Right as it does from the Left. Recent bombings and acts of sabotage have been carried out by "organizations" protesting what they believe is the country's drift into the Russian orbit.

It may be that this sudden accommodation with the foreign Left merely apes changes in United States foreign policy, but Papadopoulos can hardly use that as an excuse. The coup is still defended by the colonels in the shrillest of nationalist clichés. It was necessary, they say, to reassert national values, guarantee the nation's autonomy, make it less reliant on other governments and defend its "cultural purity." (In practice, this last activity boiled down to persecuting hippies, jailing Jehovah's Witnesses and banning the mini-skirt.) In the context of this rhetoric America's burgeoning influence (evident in the presence of sailors, tourists and businessmen) is increasingly controversial.

The controversy is manifest in large and small details of Greek life. While most Greeks retain a pro-American bias, it is noticeably less pronounced than it once was. Anti-American jokes abound in the cafés and theatres, and Americans who make their nationality obvious can expect difficulties in small things—like hailing a cab.

The Sixth Fleet (now stationed at Piraeus) has achieved a reputation for drunkenness and mugging. The Greeks are willing to forgive the former, but regard the latter as a foreign aberration imported against their will. Cab drivers have borne the brunt of these assaults, and their outspoken anger is amplified by what they view as the Americans' immunity to prosecution. In fact, sailors charged with such crimes are strictly dealt with by Navy courts but, because U.S. military authorities refuse to surrender jurisdiction, the impression persists that the servicemen are "beyond the law." The result is that the Sixth Fleet looks more and more like an extension of the regime, an occupying army.

The new anti-American sentiment has sufficient substance for the U.S. Information Service to publish the following warning in its *Weekly Bulletin*: "American personnel and their dependents are reminded to take precautions and secure their automobiles, especially during darkness hours and when parked overnight at their residence. Further precaution recommended is to examine areas of the wheel wells and under the hood for foreign objects or packages prior to operating the vehicle."

Resentment against the United States has, of course, a much broader base. In addition to the prevalent belief that the CIA conceived the coup and sustains its plotters, many Greeks fear that American culture is about to swamp its Greek counterpart. They point with vexation to the proliferation of American-style restaurants selling hamburgers and fried chicken; to the hegemony over the youth of counter-cultural styles in music, grooming and fashion; to the influence of American films, and to the expanding importance of American English in commerce. They apprehensively shake their heads over the infiltration of the Plaka—the conspicuous center of Athenian night life—by rock and roll, discothèques, psychedelia and trendy boutiques.

The bonds between politics, the economy and culture are neither obscure nor uncontroversial in Greece. Reminders are everywhere in Athens and take one form in the advertising war between Pepsi and Coca-Cola. Before the coup, neither of these soda pops was available in Greece, their importation being forbidden in the interest of the small farmers and fruit growers who produce the raw material for the country's indigenous and delicious soft drinks. All that changed when a Greco-American millionaire, Tom Pappas, negotiated the Coca-Cola franchise with the junta in return for his commitment to build a compensatory $20 million fruit processing plant. Pappas, a major fund raiser for Mr. Nixon and vice chairman of CREEP's Finance Committee, later got the regime to agree to a 90 per cent reduction in his part of the bargain. (A related irony in this, albeit somewhat Orwellian, is the radio advertising of another of the Republican VIP's enterprises: against a soft musical background, a silky voice whispers: "Esso-Pappas cares for you; Esso-Pappas cares for you. . . .")

In view of this popular disaffection with the United States—and to counter the persistent belief of CIA control—the junta is obliged to make periodic, widely publicized gestures of independence. For that reason, among others, the colonels have ostentatiously rejected the controversial military aid proffered annually by the Pentagon. One primary goal of that rejection is to reduce still further legislative debate in Washington. Military aid was the touchstone for Capitol Hill argument about American support of NATO's only dictatorship. With that aid no longer at issue, Nixon is spared an annual embarrassment and the junta can expect a diminution of nasty reviews.

In any case, the aid was more symbolic than necessary. The amount (between $12 million and $16 million) was less than what the regime spends annually for the promotion of domestic sports. Moreover, much of that aid went to support American military activity, since made superfluous by the Sixth Fleet's new situation. Thus, by a gesture that costs them little or nothing, the colonels have shut up a handful of crankily democratic American Senators, and made it less probable that prospective tourists will be plagued by guilt and upset by charges of fascism.

Those charges can hurt the junta. The tourist's image of smiling Greece shouldn't be underestimated; the economic implications are enormous. Despite 9,400 miles of sun-drenched coastline, Greece drew fewer than 3 million visitors in 1972—less than 3.5 per cent of Mediterranean tourism. The colonels have sworn a blood oath to improve that record.

Their ambitious plans call for more than 12 million visitors by 1987, and an expected take of more than $4 billion. Even now, tourists deliver more foreign exchange earnings than all of the country's exports put together (about $800 million). And, if the regime's projections are realized, there will be more tourists in 1987 Greece than there will be Greeks. The effect of the hoped-for invasion—on local customs, life style and the environment—is bound to be savage. But the dictators believe the economic rewards (to which their own survival is

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tied) will be worth the price. To encourage the growth of tourism, the government offers special tax incentives to hotel construction and tourist-related industries. And, while credit is restrained in other economic sectors (to contain serious inflation) bank loans for hotel construction are available at attractive rates: three-quarters of the required capital is offered at an average interest rate of only 6 per cent, repayable in twenty-four years. In most areas, hotel equipment can be imported duty-free.

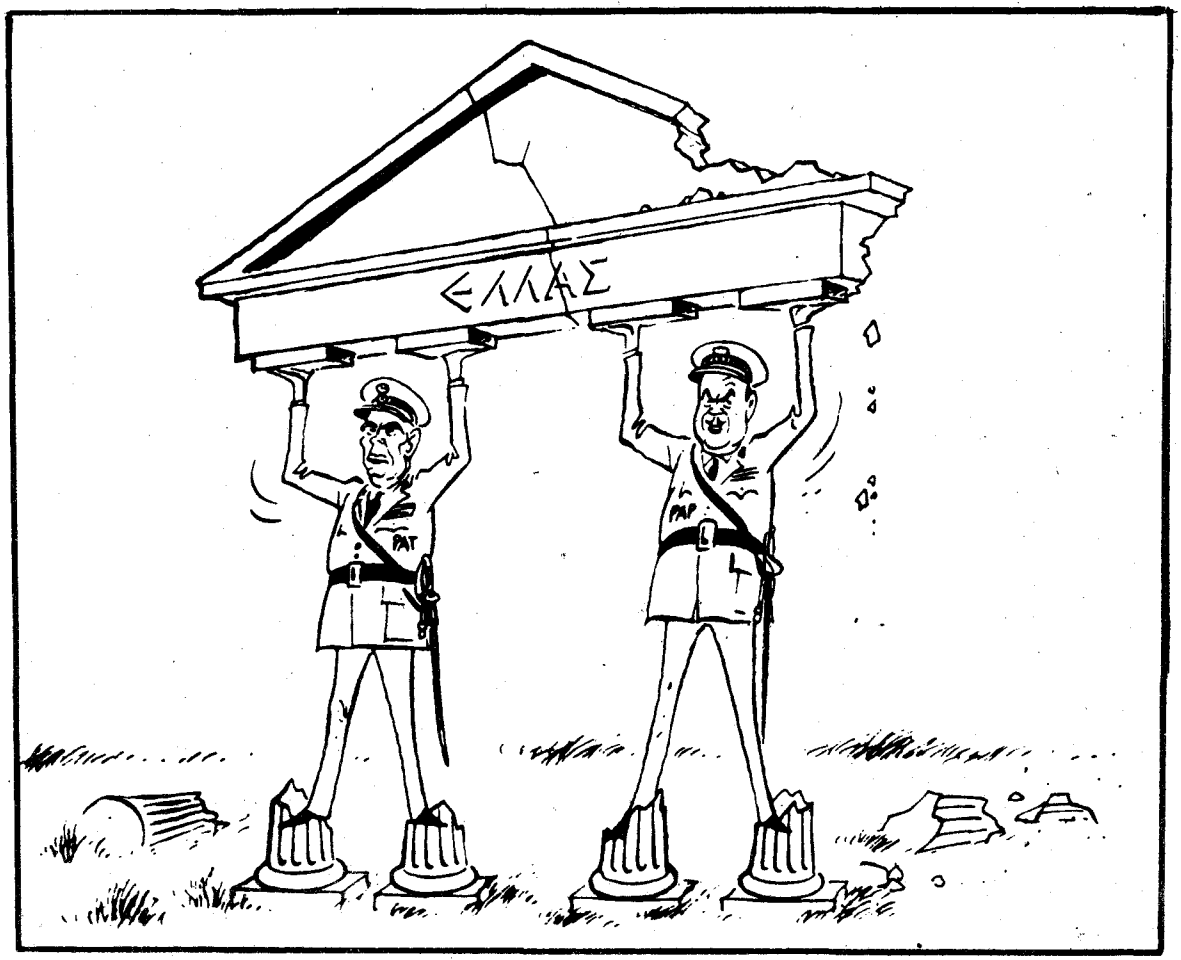
But there are problems. One is a serious labor shortage, felt in every sector of the economy. Many Greeks, particularly the young ones, are leaving the country for other parts of Europe. In the last five years, about 10 per cent of the Greek work force has emigrated. The regime is having a hard time luring them back, and the exodus constitutes a political embarrassment. (It also constitutes a worry: expatriate Greeks, notably students and workers, tend to become politicized in their relatively free adopted countries. On returning to Greece, if they do, they display an unacceptable level of political activity.)

A second problem related to tourism and the economy is the government's insistent, probably irrational, discouragement of younger tourists. Emphasizing the need to attract "high-class" visitors, the regime has given priority to the construction of such things as 36-hole golf courses, marinas and luxury hotels. As a result, the income from tourists is distributed over a base narrower than seems necessary. It frequently winds up in the accounts of foreign investors, who are the ones most likely to have the capital necessary to build opulent resorts. The owner of the smaller pension and the unpretentious restaurant loses out. The wisdom of discriminating against the younger tourist and modest investor is debatable. Who spend more: college students whiling away the summer on Crete, or the yacht owner anchored for a week off Rhodes? But then the policy is predicated more on the snobbery of the provincial colonels, and their fear of dissident visitors, than on economics.

Tourism isn't the entire economy, though it mirrors the potential and problems of the other sectors. They include, besides a historic agricultural legacy, a massive industrialization program that is for the most part underwritten by foreign investment. Aluminum smelting, oil refining, shipbuilding, mining and automobile assembly have all contributed to heating up the economy.

The effects of this recent industrial push are beginning to be felt. Real estate values are soaring in the cities, as the population shifts from the islands and rural areas to the urban centers. The labor shortage, aggravated by a declining birth rate as well as emigration, makes competition for workers fierce. There is an occupational shift from agricultural activity to the trades and service industries. Whereas agricultural products formerly comprised nearly all of the country's exports, they now account for less than 57 per cent.

The diversification is largely attributable to eye-pop-



Behrendt, Algemeen Handelsblad (Amsterdam)

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ping incentives which the government offers foreign capital. By administrative decree, foreign firms may be exempted from income taxes for ten years. Compulsory expropriation is explicitly ruled out. Further, the regime will usually reduce or cancel payment of customs duties and dues on most imported machinery and tools, as well as waive all taxes, fees and duties levied on behalf of municipalities and ports.

But while export earnings reached a historic high in the first eleven months of 1972, imports skyrocketed to nearly three times that amount ($2.15 billion) in the same period. And though the regime continues to find foreign loans, it is having to settle more often for the uneconomic short-term, high-interest variety.

The Greek economy, then, is both dynamic and afflicted. Per capita income is rising by about $34 per year (compared with $28 per year before the coup), but inflation reduces the gains. With so much political power concentrated among so few, corruption is inevitable; audiences with the influential are said to be bartered for money and favors, and strategically placed bureaucrats celebrate Christmas the year around.

Foreign politics also take their toll, and increasingly revolve around the conflict in the Mideast. Plans to make Greece the largest shipbuilding nation in the Mediterranean area have been thwarted by the closure of the Suez Canal. Public statements by President Nixon that "without Greece you have no viable policy for saving Israel" have blown the minds of Hellenic oil refiners. Counting on continuing excellent relations between Greece and the Arabs, investors have built refineries with an annual capacity of more than 20 million tons—far more than is required unless the regime can convince the Arabs to by-pass the international oil corporations and channel sales through Greece. (It may be worth recording that, shortly after Nixon's statement on Israel, Papadopoulos' daughter was vacationing in Cairo as the guest of President Sadat's daughter.)

The junta is also the snag that has kept Greece out of the Common Market. The country stalled at the level of associate member and integration with the rest of the Community is suspended until democracy returns to Athens. An index to the importance of EEC membership is the fact that Greek exports to the Common Market have doubled in the past five years. As a full-fledged member, Greece could expect to become the Market's spearhead into Asia and Africa; it could also offer a lucrative entrée into the Common Market for non-EEC investors who have committed their capital to Greece. Kept at arm's length by EEC democrats, the Greek economy cannot fulfill its potential. Pressure for some kind of return to democracy, or the appearance of democracy, is therefore coming from an unexpected source—the business community.

Other pressures also mount. With an image roughly equivalent to that of a heavily armed Calvin Coolidge, Papadopoulos can expect no popular support in the event of a counter-coup from within the military. Few Greeks respond to his dull personality, and what strong feelings there are are mostly negative in the extreme. The possibility of such a coup cannot be ruled out. Despite a series of purges, the military is not politically homogenous: monarchists, parliamentary conservatives and even liberals remain. The leaders of a counter-coup, pledged to return democracy to Greece, would receive both popular support and history's blessing; more important, their job would be made easier by the probable absence of resistance from within the state bureaucracy. It is notable in this regard that there have recently been (censored) reports of unauthorized military troop movements around Athens and Salonika. It may be that the most formidable threats to Papadopoulos will come from the very elements that abetted his seizure of power: the military and an indifferent civil service.

There are, moreover, signs of dissension and strain within the Prime Minister's own camp (he is also Foreign Minister, Defense Minister and Regent). Deputy Prime Minister Styllianos Pattakos, for instance, increasingly finds himself contradicted by his co-conspirator and boss, as when Pattakos reacted to criticism from within NATO by suggesting that Greece could withdraw from the alliance (in the context of Greek politics, this hypothetical suggestion is equivalent to Agnew's proposing the sale of Texas to Japan). Pattakos, incidentally, is known to be miffed by the erosion of his attempts to impose a new moral order (represented by the midi-skirt and crew cut) on Greece. If he isn't careful, the Deputy Prime Minister may find himself suddenly named the new ambassador to Bhutan.

The junta is plagued by the specter of former Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis. An ultraconservative supporter of the King, Karamanlis is the man for whom the colonels voted when elections were still being held in Greece. Now in Paris exile, Karamanlis is discreet about his own intentions. Nevertheless, in December, rumors that he was holding secret talks with U.S. State Department officials sparked a campaign calling for his return to form a new national government. Petitions for such a return were signed by a majority of former politicians, ranging from liberal to monarchist. The petition was slapped down by the junta as "premature," but the fact remains that Karamanlis is the man most likely to succeed Papadopoulos—providing only that the latter approves, or is removed.

Elsewhere, resistance to the regime is becoming more overt. Inflation has produced widespread popular disgruntlement, and some butchers have defiantly shut their shops in protest against exorbitant meat prices. But the rising price of shish kebab alone will not nudge the people into revolt, and the more militant resistance is weakened by lack of coordination and feuding, by its predominately bourgeois composition and lack of arms, and by the police-state tactics of the regime. Because the junta represents an ideological vacuum, a politics of opportunism, its opposition comes from every section of the political spectrum—monarchist, conservative, centrist, liberal, Socialist and Communist. Each of these divisions has its own schisms, and each has suffered from the destruction of its organizational base during the first year of the coup.

The main burden of Greek resistance is still borne by the bourgeoisie—the professionals, intellectuals, artists,

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students and former politicians. The regime has even accused its opposition of being a manifestation of radical chic! But the bourgeoisie's persistent criticism and refusal to collaborate, or to be pacified, has forced the colonels into a series of compromises they would have preferred not to make.

One such compromise was the regime's reluctant agreement to allow student union elections last November. That decision was a product of many circumstances, but in particular it was a direct response to mounting student agitation and an outbreak of demonstrations. The young people were ostensibly protesting against the government's annual appointment of its own flunkies to fill student union posts.

The student situation in Greece is peculiar. Numbering about 90,000, the students are mostly children of the upper and upper-middle classes—the sectors that have been traditionally the most active in Greek politics. Having similar backgrounds, related interests, substantial leisure and regular contact with one another, they constitute a tribe that could prove to be a powerful political catalyst. They are, moreover, a cantankerous lot who share many of the values of their contemporaries elsewhere in Europe and in America. Because the student milieu is by nature rapidly self-renewing, it was not destroyed in the witch hunt that inaugurated the coup.

Since coming to power, the regime has sought to defuse student resistance. When possible, it has employed ingratiation and special privileges; when necessary, it has resorted to Draconian military justice. Until recently, the latter hasn't been required except in a few individual cases. The vast majority of Greek students has been disarmed by indifference and busy with plans to emigrate. The regime has cultivated the indifference. Besides lavish spending to encourage athletics, the colonels have made higher education virtually free. Textbooks have been updated and are provided gratis to all students. Student loans have been made widely available. At the same time political discussion is discouraged in the schools, police monitor class meetings, and the faculties have been purged of their most distinguished members. The liberal arts—which tend to get involved in abstractions like "democracy" and "freedom"—have been de-emphasized in the name of "economic reality," and students are channeled into specialized technical education.

By and large, the students have been ungrateful. According to one Athenian, active in the student movement, "The regime has consistently failed to anticipate the students. If they had held the elections a year or two earlier, they would have received substantial support. Instead, they wait until the situation becomes unmanageable, and then they act. Or react. It's a failure they repeat in most of their activities."

The recent student union elections provide a good example of that failure. By waiting until student demands had reached near militance before responding, Papadopoulos guaranteed the politicization of what might otherwise have remained a quiescent minority. Finally realizing, if not publicly admitting, that the potential resistance of the students had developed into a conscious opposition, the junta compounded its error of hesitation by blatantly rigging elections they had proclaimed would be free.

Student meetings were studded with plain-clothes police whose age, bearing and unfamiliarity with the surroundings made them obvious. Assemblies were broken up by soldiers. Self-identified "anti-regime" candidates found their student deferments from the draft inexplicably eanceled. Others were threatened with expulsion from school if they didn't withdraw their candidacies. Still others were summoned to Athens Security Police headquarters, beaten and released to spread the word. The registration procedure was a farce. In some schools the registration office was open for only a few hours before the election; in others the office was closed when it was supposed to be open; in yet others the office was open but the registrars had disappeared—it became a game for boisterous search parties of students to seek out the missing registrars. Elsewhere, the registrars took it upon themselves to register right-wing students days after the registration period had expired.

At Salonika, on election day, commandos held military maneuvers on campus, firing blanks in the vicinity of the election booth. In several schools the committee which counted the ballots was composed of pro-regime candidates. At the Athens University law faculty, students demanded that the ballots be publicly counted and, when their demands were refused, occupied the balloting site. When police removed them, they formed a noisy street demonstration, but dispersed after a few blocks when the police charged. Elsewhere, a young priest took the precaution of obtaining affidavits from registered students who swore, under threat of imprisonment for perjury, that they had voted for him. He obtained forty-eight affidavits but lost the election when supervisors counted only twenty-eight votes in his favor.

The effect upon the students of this clownish dishonesty did not go unnoticed by the colonels. After two months of deliberation, with student agitation unabated, the regime cracked down. At the end of January, a new wave of arrests and interrogations began. Ten students at Athens University were charged with possessing subversive leaflets. Two others were prosecuted for "anti-social behavior." Twelve students at the Graduate School of Higher Commercial and Economic Studies were threatened with expulsion for publishing a declaration which the authorities deemed a menace to "the spirit compatible with the existing social system." At the Athens Polytechnic, the students went on strike.

If the purpose of the elections was to mollify an already privileged student body, the regime miscalculated. If they were intended to ingratiate foreign opinion, and suggest a trend toward "liberalization," the clumsily overt fixes were self-defeating. It may be, however, that the student elections were a trial balloon: if those elections could be controlled with a minimum of adverse publicity and fuss, then so, perhaps, could a general election.

If that was the test, the colonels learned a lesson. They may have taken some encouragement from the fact that only 19.22 per cent of the student body voted, but that turnout was less a product of indifference than of a student boycott and election-and-registration anomalies.

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Moreover, to bring about the election of their own candidates, the regime was forced into undesirable extremes of intimidation and manipulation. It must be obvious to Papadopoulos that to assure the election of a party of his making he would require military, if not divine, intervention.

But it is equally obvious that some sort of change must come. The dictatorship is its own worst enemy. The economy on which it depends for justification is inhibited by EEC disapproval of the regime. The people remain mildly to vehemently hostile. And businessmen are tired of relying on the bounty of a dictator as excessively insecure as Papadopoulos.

With the principle of legitimate succession to political office severed by the coup, stability is largely an illusion. Because that principle is destroyed, Papadopoulos is likely to bequeath his country a legacy of bloody contention over the shape of its future governance. But despite that probability, there is no evidence that the dictator is considering the return to even a pretense of democracy. □

LAND IS POWER

THE KINGDOMS OF THE RAILROADS

GEORGE L. BAKER
Mr. Baker is a staff writer for a West Coast chain of newspapers.

> Like Marley's ghost, the century-old issue of land grants keeps coming back to haunt America's railroads.
> *Association of American Railroads*

In the long history of corporate raids on the public treasury, few American industries can compete with the railroads for the distinction of having received the most aid from the public and given the least in return. From the time, more than 100 years ago, when a group of rapacious tycoons descended on Washington to gain exclusive franchises for the nation's transcontinental rail lines, the railroads have looked upon the public as a burdensome nuisance. The debacle of the Penn Central and its quest for a federal bailout is but the latest chapter in this tale of corporate neglect. When the public trough is filled, the railroads are always first in line.

From their inception, the railroads helped to corrupt federal, state and local governments, charged exorbitant freight rates, and divided the country into a monopolistic system of rate pools. When passenger trains no longer served their interests they pulled them into the yards. Now some of these same railroads have begun tightening their grip on another of their monopolies, a 24-million-acre empire that sprawls across the western United States. This mind-boggling domain, nearly as big as the state of Pennsylvania, was the gift of a pliant Congress, duped into handing the railroads land in order to encourage them to build the transportation network needed by the expanding nation.

Much of the land is held and exploited in apparent violation of scores of granting acts and court decisions. Moreover, the railroads are laying waste to much of their acreage with the exuberance of an ax-swinging lumberman in a redwood forest. "The terms of the original railroad land grant Acts have been violated, there is no question about it," says Brock Evans, Northwestern representative of the Sierra Club in Seattle. "Congress did not intend that they be logged and mined year after year." Indeed, Congress intended that much of the land should be sold within three years after completion of the rail lines and in tracts not larger than 160 acres. Yet both those stipulations have been ignored as well.

Instead, the devastating effects of land monopoly have become evident as these quasi-transportation companies pillage the land in the best tradition of absentee landlords. From the Four Corners of the Southwest to the coal fields of the Northern Plains states, the story is the same. Strip mining, clear-cutting, oil and mineral exploitation and wilderness subdivisions are the hallmarks of this corporate misuse of the land. And for the family farmer who seeks to retain his place in rural America, the railroads have hung out a sign: "This land is not for sale."

In sum, they are the agents of the environmental crisis confronting the West. An examination of this corporate estate is instructive in two ways: it is a case study of land monopoly, typical of what occurs in many other sections of the country, and it demonstrates how well-intentioned public policies have been bent to private interests.

The bulk of the real estate is controlled by three railroads:

¶The Southern Pacific Company. California's "octopus" is the state's biggest private landowner, holding just over 2 million acres (4 per cent of the state's total), with an additional 1.8 million acres in Nevada, Oregon, Utah and Texas, along with mineral rights to an additional 1.3 million acres. Much of the land is rich in oil, minerals, timber and top soil; it produces at least $11 million in annual revenues.

¶The Burlington Northern. This conglomerate of four railroads, including the Great Northern and Northern Pacific, could better be described as a natural resources company that has more track (26,000 miles) than any other line. It owns outright 2,385,000 acres in Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Nebraska, Illinois, Oregon and Canada, and holds mineral rights over another 6 million acres—much of it ripe for strip mining. It controls nearly 10 per cent of Montana's private land.

¶The Union Pacific. Edward H. Harriman's creation is doing nicely these days, exploiting stripped coal, oil and other minerals on its 7.8 million acres of mineral rights

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in California, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Utah and Wyoming, and holding title to another 900,000 acres. All this was enough to earn it natural resource revenues of $22 million in 1971.

(The above holdings are somewhat reduced from the original grants, which gave Northern Pacific 40 million acres; Southern Pacific and its predecessor, the Central Pacific, 21 million acres, and the Union Pacific, 11 million acres.)

These, the "big three," hold the bulk of the land, but there are others. The St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co. (the Frisco) controls 1.3 million acres through its subsidiary, the New Mexico and Arizona Land Co.; the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Co. owns 238,481 acres in Idaho and Montana; and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe owns 48,000 acres of prime industrial, commercial and residential land.

This empire is not the exception to the general land ownership patterns in the West and elsewhere. It is, in fact, typical in many parts of the country and other sectors of the economy. While government researchers, political scientists, economists and reporters have delved into the concentrated control of everything from cereals to automobiles, little attention has been paid to a far more pervasive and pernicious monopoly—ownership of the land and its natural resources.

It was not always so, this gathering of land into the hands of the few. But somehow, in the transition from a Jeffersonian democracy to an industrial society, the concept that man should appropriate only as much land as he could use for himself was twisted and perverted.

The railroad land empire that once embraced an area larger than all of New England and the Middle Atlantic states was a contributing factor to this change of attitudes. Never before had so few people in America been given so much land. Upon its owner land bestows two things—power and wealth. It gives power to control the lives of people, social institutions, public policies and, ultimately, land use. It provides wealth because its supply is limited.

Power and wealth—the touchstones of the corporate structure—were given not to those who needed them most, the landless, powerless immigrants, but to those who needed them least, the rich, powerful entrepreneurs. Today, the ultimate power of land use is a devastating reality. Their noble statements notwithstanding, the corporate managers' use of land springs from a view that it is simply another cost factor, like labor or an iron bolt, added into the price of economic goods, rather than a diminishing resource to be nurtured, sustained and preserved.

Had the people foreseen the fruits of their misdirected bounty a century ago, history might have been different. But their goals were more short term. They directed their energies to the long-cherished dream of linking East and West with steel rails. Only later would they regret the monster that had been spawned.

When the first transcontinental routes were authorized in 1862, it was the consensus that land—the nation's most abundant asset—could be used to assist in building the lines. There was a dual purpose: to provide the means of financing the fledging enterprises and to open the West to settlement by insuring that, once the rail lines were built, the land would be available to homesteaders. The lines were built, and numerous tycoons turned microscopic investments into prodigious fortunes; but the settlers and homesteaders would have to wait.

Most of the granting Acts (about seventy in all) gave the railroads a 200-foot right-of-way and all odd-numbered sections (a square mile or 640 acres) 20 miles on each side of the line, to form a checkerboard pattern. If any of these "place" sections were already occupied or contained minerals, Congress established "in-lieu" lands, or indemnity sections, from which the railroads could choose compensating acreage. The indemnity sections normally were 10 miles wide.

It was a grandiose scheme. Lay the rails, link the nation, populate the countryside, contract the frontier, open the public domain. That there was never any thought of the railroads retaining the land, many of the granting Acts made clear with this or similar language:

> All such lands so granted by this act, which shall not be sold or disposed of by said company within three years after the entire road shall be completed, shall be subject to settlement and pre-emption, like other lands, at a price not exceeding one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, to be paid to said company.

Though much of the West was uncharted territory, the aversion to undue enrichment from public lands was so strong that Congress added another proviso in the Acts, fully anticipating that it would prevent the railroads from grabbing off mineral wealth:

> Provided further, that all mineral lands be . . . excluded from the operations of this act, and in lieu thereof a like quantity of unoccupied and unappropriated agricultural lands, in odd numbered sections, . . . may be selected.

The only minerals that could be exploited by the railroads within the place limits, according to an exemption, were coal and iron, Congress presuming that they could be used for construction purposes on the lines themselves. This point will be dealt with later, but it is instructive to note here that only agricultural lands could be selected elsewhere.

This noble experiment in government largesse might have worked, but no one foresaw the conniving of such freebooters as California's Big Four (Huntington, Crocker, Stanford and Hopkins), Jay Cooke, Jay Gould, or James J. Hill who mortgaged and bought public officials like so many railroad ties. In time, the public turned against the railroads and their "public-be-damned" attitudes, forcing them to return more than 25 million acres to the federal domain and unceremoniously flinging them out of their positions of governmental influence.

Today the passenger trains don't run often through the Northern Plains states of North Dakota, Wyoming and Montana, not since Amtrak relieved the Burlington and the U.P. of the nuisance of carrying passengers and left them to haul pigs and pig iron. Instead, another kind of train periodically slips across the horizon—long, bleak rows of hopper cars filled with coal stripped from just beneath the prairie surface.

The specter of Appalachia hangs ominously over the

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plains where the Burlington and U.P. have a lock on the nation's largest reserves of low-sulfur coal. Environmental pressures have made the coal, which produces relatively little sulfur dioxide when burned, attractive to utilities forced to meet federal clean air standards. Because the coal lies closer to the surface than in Eastern fields, extraction and transportation cost far less.

But the quest to end pollution in one area is producing environmental disaster in another. Strip mining has transformed the magnificent Appalachian countryside into a gruesome mosaic of spoil banks and gapping craters. Now the same shovels and drag lines that gulped 250 tons of West Virginia soil in one bite are poised for an assault on the plains.

The Fort Union and Big Powder fields of eastern Montana and Wyoming and western North Dakota are estimated to contain more than 30 billion tons of high-grade coal and billions more of lower-grade lignite. To the surprise of many, the energy companies do not control these deposits: the Burlington, with estimated reserves of 11 billion tons, and U.P., with 10 billion tons, are the two biggest coal companies in the country. "We don't even care to guess what they're worth," remarked Union Pacific chief executive Frank E. Barnett some time ago. "If we did we'd have tax assessors all over the place."

But they are worth plenty to the railroads and the energy monopolies. Both the Burlington and U.P. have been leasing their land to such stalwarts as Westmoreland Resources, Peabody Coal Co. and the Exxon Corp., turning a quick buck in the process, and the normally tranquil plainspeople have been stirred to action by the devastation in prospect. Strip mining has become a major political issue in state capitals, spilling over into Congress where a number of Senators and Representatives are pushing for controls on federal leasing of mineral rights and reclamation of destroyed land. "The people in my district are alarmed at the threat that strip mining poses to them," said North Dakota state Sen. S. F. Hoffner. "It could change the entire area, turning it from a productive region of agricultural products to a virtual wasteland overnight. We must pass legislation in this session to insure proper controls are set to restrict mining operations." To Montana State Lands Commissioner Ted Scheiden, strip mining "represents a continuation of what has been the traditional history of Montana—exploitation of its resources with a minimum of public benefit."

Though only a recent development, strip mining in the area has risen rapidly. From 1969 to 1971 production in Montana rose from 1 million to 7 million tons and is projected to reach 81 million tons by 1980. Those 7 million tons came from the land of one company—the ubiquitous Burlington. By 1975 production in the three states will nearly double from the 19 million tons stripped in 1971 and Burlington expects 41 per cent of the coal will come from its land.

"In my opinion it will take an extremely long time for that land to come back," said Mrs. Ellen Withers, president of the Northern Plains Resource Council in Billings, Mont., which has organized to fight the monopolists. "A shock like strip mining will almost be fatal to the use of the land for any farming for a number of years. There are a lot of people who don't realize the total effect of this and I'm afraid we're going to go through thirty years like the East did."

The railroads are not restrained by such foreboding, for they can almost count their other return from strip mining—that from hauling coal to market. The federal government has joined the coal rush by leasing 5.5 million acres of federal lands to the energy companies, and the railroads will also move that coal. Coal-hauling revenues for the Burlington came to $68 million in 1971 and Chairman Louis W. Menk foresees $150 million in five years. "This traffic just fell in on us all of a sudden. It's a nice problem," he said.

While conceding the consequences of strip mining (euphemistically referred to as surface mining), the Burlington Northern says a balance must be struck between development and conservation. It claims to be spending more than $600 an acre to reclaim land it mined in the 1920s (why did it wait so long?) and says it will reclaim all land that is disturbed. The Burlington speaks for the other railroads when it asserts that it is really performing a public service by extracting the coal to meet the nation's increased demand for energy. All this is explained in a recent Burlington pamphlet, "The Energy Crisis and Montana Coal," which states, "The orderly development of this vast resource will help to solve the nation's energy crisis while directly benefiting the people of Montana."

And in a recent speech, Chairman Menk said, "We cannot lock out the rest of the human race nor lock in Montana's great resources. We can and we must . . . be good husbandmen of nature's bounty and stewards of Montana's advantages of life. Montana richly deserves the name 'Treasure State.' I do not believe we should try to make it a museum." But the hollow promises of reclamation have been heard before in other soil-depleted states.

While the Burlington leases its coal rights, the Union Pacific has taken a more direct interest, forming Rocky Mountain Associated Coal Corp., in which it has invested $10 million and taken a 50 per cent interest; several utility companies are also involved. "Our policy is first to lease some of our coal resources to others and use the royalties to build an income base which we can use to go forward with direct strip mining ourselves, participating in operations as a joint venture," Chairman Barnett told *Forbes* magazine. "We have the muscle to proceed and we have the coal resources."

They may have the muscle and the coal but do they have the right? It is a question federal officials ought to ask themselves while they dust off the so-called commodities clause of the 1906 Hepburn Railroad Rate Act. It states unequivocally:

> It shall be unlawful for any railroad company to transport . . . any article or commodity, other than timber and the manufactured products thereof, manufactured or mined or produced by it, or under its authority, or which it may own in whole or part, or in which it may have any interest, direct or indirect, except such articles or commodities as may be necessary and intended for its use in the conduct of its business as a common carrier.

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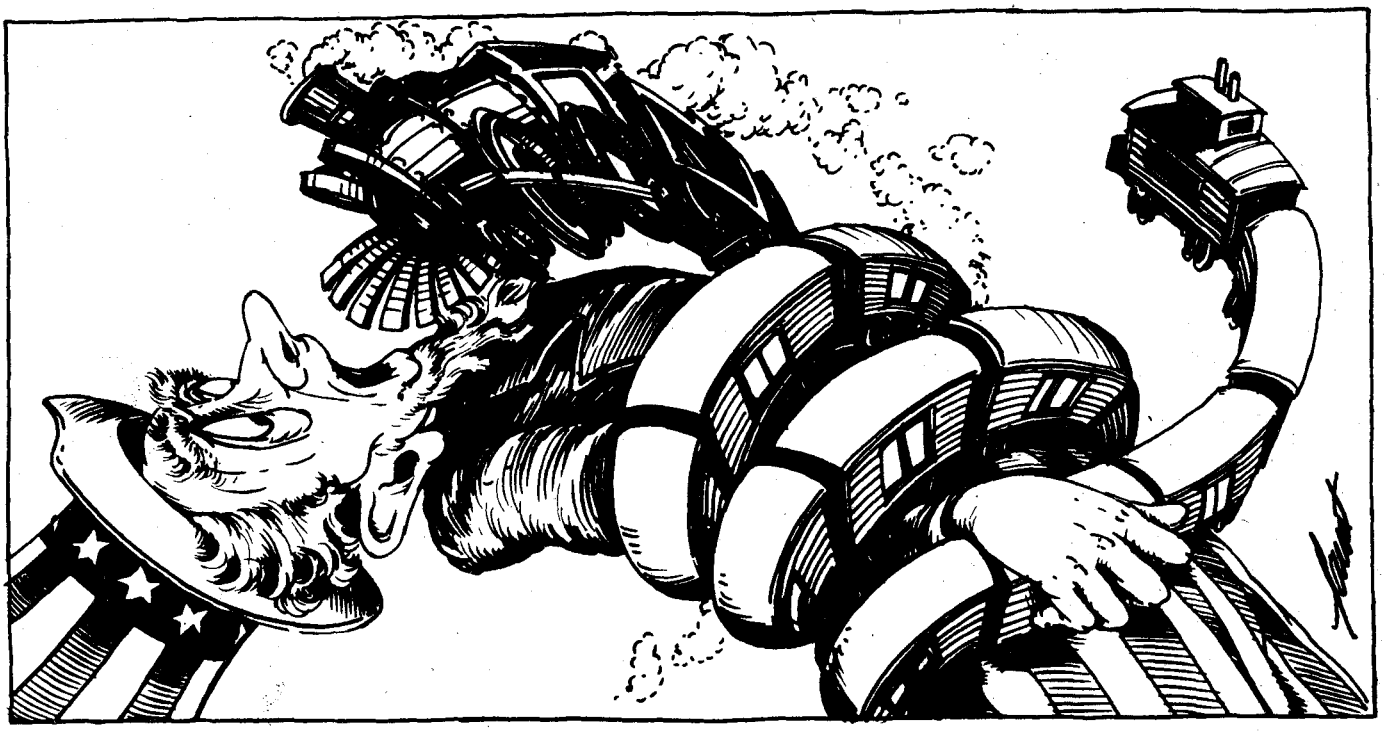

The constitutionality of this provision, intended to break up Eastern coal-railroad combines, was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1909 and has been invoked periodically, including once in the 1920s when Southern Pacific was divested of 259,000 oil-bearing acres.

Though the law has been mitigated by some court decisions, its purpose is unmistakably clear. According to one law review, "The commodity clause has for its object to prevent carriers from being associated in interest at the time of transportation with the commodities transported."

Furthermore, railroads were to produce coal and iron only to aid construction, not to enrich corporate coffers. As pointed out earlier, the granting Acts reserved mineral rights on in-lieu lands to the government. And a 1925 Supreme Court decision held that no mineral land, including coal and iron, could be selected from lieu lands.

These considerations ought to place in great peril the interests taken by the Burlington and the U.P. in mining coal and then shipping it. Perhaps they profess no concern because the clause is enforced by the Interstate Commerce Commission, that moribund repository of political hacks.

So goes the concept of law and order as applied to corporations. Even the Frisco has gotten into the strip-mining act, leasing its mineral rights in the Black Mesa area of New Mexico, whence the coal is carried in slurry (through an S.P. pipeline) to the Four Corners Power Plant, the single greatest source of pollution in the Southwest.

Moreover, coal is only one of many minerals lying apparently beyond the arm of the law in this corporate domain. The U.P. has interests in five oil and four gas fields, including the giant Wilmington Field of California, which rank the company among the country's top twelve independent crude producers. It owns a half interest in the world's largest deposits of trona, the material from which soda ash is made, along with vast reserves of iron, titanium and vanadium. "There are minerals and things out there in those hills we don't even know what they are," said one U.P. executive in mock astonishment.

The Burlington's interests embrace 604,000 acres of oil or gas lands in seven states and Canada, which grossed $9.2 million in leases and royalties in 1971. Many other minerals, including iron ore, taconite, sand, gravel, bentonite and travertine, are produced on its land grant domain. And S.P. owns the Bravo Oil Co., three oil and gas pipeline companies, and collected $2,212,000 in royalties from thousands of acres it leased to other oil companies in 1971.

Nor is mineral wealth the only facet of this broad hold on the West's natural resources. Some of the nation's richest timber stands are found in the Pacific Northwest and Northern California, and not by accident the railroads ran their lines straight through many of them, acquiring in the process billions of board feet of timber. In 1914 the holdings were so extensive that the government warned that three companies—Southern Pacific, Northern Pacific and Weyerhaeuser—with more than 5 million acres of timber, controlled 11 per cent of the nation's private timber stands. Some of those holdings were subsequently reduced because of repeated violations of law, but the S.P. retains 430,000 acres of commercial timber and the Northern Pacific (Burlington) 1,344,000 acres.

The Burlington holdings, yielding more than 250 million board feet annually, are the focus of a clash between conservationists, who believe in sustained cutting, and company executives who, eyeing the high price of lumber, have embarked on an accelerated clear-cutting policy. They mine the timber as they mine coal, and a debate rages within the company on whether it should accelerate its cutting.

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The company contends it is carrying out farsighted timber practices and cuts only enough timber to insure that it is meeting demands, while at the same time taking care to preserve surrounding areas from destructive erosion or clear-cutting.

The checkerboard pattern of railroad land has complicated the administration of Forest Service lands and wilderness areas. In California, for example, the Forest Service has proposed a reserve only half the size proposed by the Sierra Club, primarily because of problems encountered in exchanging land with the S.P. For years the S.P. balked at any land exchanges; now it has changed its stand, and seeks to consolidate its scattered holdings at two Lake Tahoe resorts.

The Congressional proviso that the land it granted a railroad should be sold after completion of the line did not prevent the Northern Pacific nearly seventy years ago from selling land through a number of corporate dummies to the Weyerhaeuser Company. Today that land, 1.5 million acres, is the keystone of the Weyerhaeuser empire, where clear-cutting is common practice even within view from Seattle.

The S.P. was not as lucky. It was compelled in 1916 to give back nearly 3 million acres of Oregon's choicest Douglas fir timberland. The reversion came when the Supreme Court found that the Oregon and California Railroad, an S.P. subsidiary, had sold off blocks of up to 45,000 acres and cut timber for its own profit, both violations of the original grant. The original line extended 693 miles from Portland to Roseville, Calif., but to this day no action has been taken to return the California portion of the land, where similar violations occurred.

Public interest groups that have sprung up throughout the West are questioning these railroad holdings and mapping strategy to return at least some of the land to the government or people. One of these, the San Francisco-based National Coalition for Land Reform, has filed an administrative complaint with the Department of Interior, asking for a full-scale investigation of the S.P. and other land-grant railroads to determine whether the land is held in violation of the granting Acts.

"The Interior Department and Justice Department are charged by law with seeing that the terms of the railroad land grants are enforced," said David Kirkpatrick, who filed the petition. "They should apply the same standards of 'law and order' to these public land hijacks as they do to ordinary felons."

The S.P. dismissed the complaint as a "specious attack," then filed a 53-page brief, containing eighty-one citations, to show just how specious it was.

The coalition has its eye on some 160,000 rich agricultural acres, held by S.P. in California's fertile San Joaquin Valley, which it would like to open to family farmers. The land, leased to some of the nation's biggest corporate farmers and farm subsidy recipients, was obtained as a grant for a line never built.

Given the history of railroad subsidies, it is almost predictable that 120,000 of these acres lie within the nation's biggest irrigation district (600,000 acres), where landowners also receive a federal water subsidy of up to $1,000 an acre. S.P., which leases land to four of the nine directors of Westlands Water District, shows no disposition to open the land to family farmers. "I don't see that as our role at all," said O.G. Linde, president of the S.P. Land Co. "If there is a need for the small farmer to buy land, his opportunity to do so is in no way hampered by our unwillingness to sell to them." It was the S.P. that booted settlers off nearby lands in the 1870s, igniting the Mussel Slough incident in which ten people died, and inspiring Frank Norris' novel *The Octopus*.

According to Linde, S.P. plans to strengthen its management of land holdings. These include not only its agricultural land, returning $3 million in annual revenues, but its timber leases which added another $4,286,000 to the company treasury in 1971. "We want to increase our income and control taxes," he said in an interview. "We would like to have an additional voice in how our property is used and more of a vocal position with the local tax assessor."

If the Burlington and U.P. have stumbled onto a bonanza in the coal fields, Southern Pacific may have found its own prize in the Imperial Valley of California where it is experimenting with the development of geothermal power. As a major landowner in the valley, S.P. has embarked on a three-way venture, leasing 30,000 of its acres for the development of what is billed as America's next major source of power. This is just the first phase of a ten-year plan, which, according to a company statement, "will evaluate geothermal possibilities in a number of areas in the country, including Southern Pacific holdings in California, Nevada and Utah."

All the railroads are also into the get-rich-quick field of land speculation. Much of this land, held for years, is going into gambling casinos, hotels, housing projects, apartment complexes and the like. To take advantage of the recreation boom, the Burlington has a $583,000 interest in Chet Huntley's Big Sky resort in Montana, which environmentalists charge will be ecologically destructive.

So it goes, the growth-at-any-cost philosophy. Lease the land, but don't sell it. Extract the minerals, harvest the freight revenues, exploit the land, destroy the countryside, lock up the farms, and look to the government for more aid. And don't be concerned about the law.

The railroads are hard-pressed to destroy Marley's ghost, which rises occasionally to remind the public of this gigantic land ripoff. Realizing that these grants do indeed give the impression that something was gotten for nothing, the railroads have constructed a convoluted but fallacious argument to justify them. It goes something like this:

The grants were really a contract whereby the railroads agreed to transport, at half the standard rates, government troops and all government property used for military purposes through World War II. Before 1941, the land-grant railroads also carried government property used for nonmilitary purposes at 50 per cent discount, as well as the mail at 20 per cent off.

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By 1945, when the last of these rate provisions was repealed, the Southern Pacific avers that the railroads had "contributed over $900 million in payment of the lands which were transferred to them under the land-grant Act. Thus the total payments of the railroads to the government through rate deductions were approximately ten times the value of the lands at the time they were granted to the railroads."

It has a nice, round ring of truth to it, but one thing is lacking. In their mystical calculations, the railroads value the land at its original worth, something like 94¢ an acre. To put it mildly, the land is worth more than that today.

Writing in 1945 on the treatment of land grants in history books, Robert S. Henry, an agent of the railroad association, observed:

> The net result of the treatment of the land-grant transaction as a whole is to present to the student a picture of a wastrel Uncle Sam scattering his substance with reckless extravagance, instead of the more nearly correct picture of a canny landowner using part of his holdings to increase immeasurably the value of the rest, not as a gift but on terms which constituted a bargain shrewder than he realized.

That Uncle Sam may have been a "canny landlord" (which indeed he was not) has little relevance today to the effect of those grants or the use made of them. The central issue is how they shaped the history of the West and are shaping it today. As they rightly (and often) point out, the railroads were America's first great transportation system, tying the country together as never before. But at what cost? Though some companies did colonize their land, the proud purpose of the grants was seldom fulfilled.

Rather, they retarded settlement and homesteading at a time when people were beginning to put down roots. The prime land most often was reserved by the railroads. A domain that beckoned to landless pioneers was locked up for generations.

Given that precedent, it is not surprising that the West is sprinkled with giant corporations, aside from the railroads, operating as feudal empires with millions of acres under their control. It was never intended to be that way, but the railroad grants invited other timber, mining, cattle, farming and land companies to grab off huge chunks of the landscape.

It may seem a futile gesture to tilt at these transportation behemoths in an era when bigger is assumed to be better. But some of the basic issues ought to be resolved sooner or later. One is the right of these companies to treat the land as though it were so much slag iron. The other is their legal right even to hold the land.

Congress has tackled this question before and should do it again. In today's political climate only a confirmed optimist could believe that the Justice Department will undertake more than a cursory glance at the problem. Far more effective would be a Congressional hearing and a mandate from Congress that the Interior or Justice Department look at these holdings with the same suspicion that the Administration adopts toward political dissidents.

If Congress is as concerned with land use as it professes to be, there would be no better way to dramatize the issue than by looking at the people who determine the ultimate use or misuse of land. And though it may be too much to ask, the ICC ought to attempt to enforce the commodities clause enacted to curb the monopolistic and anti-public practices now carried out.

One need only be reminded of an observation by the U.S. Commissioner of Corporations who, in summarizing a 1911 report for Congress, could easily have been writing in 1973:

> The possibilities of power involved in such concentration of land ownership, irrespective of timber, hardly require discussion. The danger of that abuse of power, in the absence of restrictive regulations, is obvious. This danger, moreover, is greatly multiplied because a few of the largest owners of this land also occupy dominating positions in railroad transportation over great sections of this country. □

NIXON'S 'GIFT' TO THE POOR

Balance Sheet on National Health

GEORGE A. SILVER, M.D.
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Even as the shock of Nixon's restrictive HEW budget sinks in, the magnitude of the expenditure must still be recognized. True, HEW's $93 billion will be very largely spent through the Social Security Administration ($54 billion). But looking at the health expenditures alone, a large chunk of that ($17 billion) will be in the two elements of HEW responsible for Medicare and Medicaid. The last Congress added about $5 billion of these expenditures, a little more than $1 billion of it in added Medicare and Medicaid expenditures and responsibilities, and about $2 billion for replacing categorical state programs of aid to the aged, blind and disabled by a completely federal program of supplemental security income. This takes the states out of the business of categorical welfare services for the aged, blind and disabled, and provides a floor of income for such people in every state, without regard to how low the minimums had been when the states ran the programs. It remains to be seen how effective this switch of responsibility will be, since the manpower constraints imposed by the Administration on its constituent agencies may make it impossible for the Social Security Administration to carry out the new pro-

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visions. A few million old, blind or disabled people can look forward to some chaos, if not outright deprivation.

In any case, however grudgingly President Nixon ignored his fiscal advisers' urgent pleas last October and allowed HR-1 to become law (PL 92-603), he set in motion some important waves that will powerfully influence health plans and health services in the future. Initiated in the House (hence the title and number) and acted upon in the Senate as such, the bill had a long and tortured pregnancy and delivery. It makes hundreds of changes in the Medicare and Medicaid laws, giving some new and promising things, such as making permanently and totally disabled people eligible for Medicare coverage; but at the same time adding some important burdens, like requiring monthly premiums of the medically indigent, who up till then, in some twenty-eight states, had received medical care at *no* cost.

One interesting development is the way in which the legislation subtly lays the groundwork for an eventual national health insurance program. It defines a Health Maintenance Organization, for example, which will make lots of trouble for any future Congressional bill writers in this area. It does this as part of an excellent section that gives beneficiaries the right (with a mandate for the Social Security Administration to pay) to join prepaid group practices. That provision can be very influential in promoting such groups and thereby improving health services. The law calls for a Professional Standards Review Organization (PSRO) to check on medical services covered under the Medicare/Medicaid program. For some years to come, this *must* be an organization representing substantial numbers of practicing physicians, thus putting the fox in control of the chickens, so to speak. While responsible for making sure that *institutional* services are medically necessary, the PSRO may, if it wishes, also assume responsibility for the review of *noninstitutional care* and services provided under Medicare/Medicaid. That is a magic lever for some day improving the quality of care outside the hospital.

Defining health maintenance organization, easing beneficiaries into prepaid groups and establishing the Professional Standards Review Organization may all be looked upon as preliminary to planning national health insurance. In a sense, it is the federal camel's nose in the professional tent. The theory of "incremental improvements," the classic ploy of so much past Democratic legislative activity in the welfare field, is here seen at its masterful best. Wilbur Mills apparently shares Wilbur Cohen's admiration for "salami tactics."

Other sections of this legislation have less beneficial implications for any future national health insurance action. While it provides for a single standard for nursing homes operating under Medicare and Medicaid, which will prevent states from using inadequate, unqualified services for the old and the poor alike, it at the same time lowers the Medicare definition of what constitutes a skilled nursing home! Social workers are dispensed with in Medicare-approved extended care facilities, but chiropractors are now included in both Medicare and Medicaid coverage. Glory be! A slight catch in this, however, is that the Secretary of HEW will set standards for including chiropractors on the advice of his staff (no chiropractors there!) and chiropractors will be permitted to deal only with spinal disorders and the manipulation thereof. Under Medicare, they can act only after X-ray evidence suggests that they should, and that will undoubtedly be a rare finding if the doctors read the X-rays under the Secretary's definitions. (The poor, under Medicaid, are not so lucky as the elderly; they can be treated even without X-ray evidence of disease!)

Social Security tax rates are raised, creating for the future important issues about this regressive kind of tax and whether a national health service should be so financed. Why should the bulk of the cost of providing health services come from flat rates of the sort that now obtain for working people in the Social Security tax?

For children the bill has interesting added values. For failing to provide child health screening services that are mandated under Medicaid, the states can be penalized by a reduction of the matching Aid for Dependent Children funds, which last year was a substantial $2 billion. The amount is to be reduced by only 1 per cent, but it will be a cumulative 1 per cent per year for any state that fails to meet the obligations. A state must not only inform poor families with dependent children of the fact that such services are available but also arrange for or provide such services; and it must arrange for or provide the treatment for conditions requiring care that are disclosed by the screening. Under those circumstances, a much improved network of medical care services for children will have to be developed.

One extraordinarily expensive addition to previous legislation is the provision of renal dialysis for covered workers and their families after the first three months of care for renal diseases. In the appendix to the Act, $20 million of added Medicare costs is ticketed for this service. There are some who would put the estimate for this coverage in the billions rather than the millions. It also raises serious questions of priorities (5,000 to 15,000 people may benefit) and of how our national health goals are set. And it illustrates the casual way in which multi-billion-dollar programs are devised (a minor section of four or five lines in a 900-page bill), while millions of people will be cut out of services by another few lines (added premium and co-payments of costs for the medically indigent).

Taken all in all, this legislation must be seen as a big step in the direction of federal commitment to a national health policy. It is *not* a national health policy in itself. And it falls far short of offering the benefits and developments that poor and elderly Americans generally require. Nevertheless, it shows that the Congress—and the President by signing it—recognizes the changing situation and has moved ever so cumbersomely to meet it. It is unfortunate that one must view the total effect in the light of the latest Nixon health budget. The brutal imposition of added charges upon the old people ($890 million!) for hospital and physician services, and the restriction on training of health workers bode ill for effective implementation of the services offered in HR-1. The President is acting to take away in this session what the last session gave our old and poor. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Truth and 'the Art of the Possible'

STATES OF IRELAND. *By Conor Cruise O'Brien. Pantheon Books. 336 pp. $7.95.*

VIVIAN MERCIER
Mr. Mercier is the author of The Irish Comic Tradition *(Galaxy). He is at present in Ireland on a Guggenheim Fellowship.*

Since Conor Cruise O'Brien's book on the Northern Ireland situation contains a strong autobiographical element, a little autobiography may not be out of place in my review. I was Conor's roommate at Trinity College, Dublin, from 1937 to 1939, when he married a Protestant classmate of ours from Northern Ireland, Christine Foster. The friendship that had brought us together survived two years of living at close quarters and continues firm to this day, but there were plenty of stresses and strains. For one thing, Conor beat me in every examination, except one, that we took together; I could comfort myself that he was 19 months older than I and therefore should have been at least a year ahead of me, but I knew perfectly well that even without the age differential he would have beaten me: as I had for years been top of the class at my prep school, this was hard to take.

Although neither of us went to church if we could avoid it, the fact that he was Catholic by upbringing and I Protestant did contribute to the strains of living together: I found myself stressing tidiness, cleanliness, punctuality, care for material comfort, all things I had hitherto neglected; conversely, Conor pretended more indifference to them than he really felt. It is probably true of both North and South in Ireland that, in spite of the alleged puritanism of the Irish Catholic, Protestants feel and are more square than their opposite numbers.

Usually, when one reminisces about a roommate who has become famous, the highest praise is to say, "He hasn't changed a bit," but my highest praise for Conor is that he *has* changed. When I knew him first, he was unquestionably brilliant, witty and courageous to the point of foolhardiness, but nobody in his senses would have described him as wise. Yet for me the most striking quality of *States of Ireland*—as of my other favorite among his books, *United Nations: Sacred Drama*—is not its very evident wit but its wisdom. Conor's T. S. Eliot Lectures, *The Suspecting Glance*, though not as original as the other two books, best show the crucial change in his thought since college days: he has turned from Nietzsche to Burke, from Dionysus to Apollo. Many of his youthful deeds as well as thoughts were comprehensible only against a background of Nietzsche, mainly as interpreted by Yeats and Gide. He, so suspicious of violence now, was fond of quoting Yeats's

> *Even the wisest man grows tense*
> *With some sort of violence*
> *Before he can accomplish fate,*
> *Know his work or choose his mate.*

He was also fond of perpetrating what Gide called "gratuitous acts," some of them mere practical jokes, others more serious and dangerous. I remember, too, a long, somewhat drunken conversation about what we would wish for our eldest sons—I'm not sure that mine was even born yet. Obviously, we were talking about what we wished for ourselves. Conor said "Power"; I said "Love."

He would not give the same answer now. The stand he has taken on Northern Ireland, both in this book and as an Irish Labour Party deputy in the parliament of the Republic, seems to guarantee that he will never achieve real political power; indeed, it may lose him his seat on February 28. Nonetheless, having said the unsayable many times over, he has found not only a number of Protestants but a number of Catholics to agree with him. The most unpopular statement in the whole book is probably this: "While two communities are as bitterly antagonistic as are Catholics and Protestants [in Northern Ireland] now, it is not merely futile but actually mischievous to talk about uniting Ireland." What he means is that in a united Ireland Catholics would outnumber Protestants by at least three to one; merely discussing such a solution to the Northern Ireland problem during the present state of tension is enough to make even Protestant moderates dig their heels in. Since Catholics are outnumbered two to one in the North, any toughening of the Protestant stance is apt to make their situation worse. As for the Republic, though in theory all of us here, Protestant and Catholic alike, are in favor of reuniting Ireland, in practice this would mean taking responsibility for the hideous situation in the North, something very few people want to do. As Conor puts it with a characteristic combination of realism and colloquial humor:

> . . . The people of the Republic have begun to have second thoughts, rather clearer than the first, about incorporating the North. In theory these strange, fierce people are all one and the same as our easygoing selves: in practice they seem to be a bit different. The Protestants seem more determined, more numerous and much more unassimilable than we had thought them, in the days when we only thought we were thinking about them. And these Northern Catholics too look a tough lot. They should, indeed, get a fairer deal, so they should. Up there.

Since the London edition of this book was published, the explosion of some Northern Protestant bombs in Dublin has reinforced the attitude outlined above, rather than stirring indignation at the random deaths they caused. Even if one takes the just conceivable view that the bombs were planted by the Provisional IRA, their most immediate effect was to intensify the crackdown on the IRA in the Republic.

All this talk of Catholic and Protestant makes Americans ask, "Do people in Ireland still really think in terms of religion?" Irishmen are entitled to answer by asking another question, "Do people in America still really think in terms of color?" Conor shows in his epilogue that the Marxist analysis simply won't work in Northern Ireland, any more than it will in the American South. The dominant group (rich whites, rich Protestants) does make use of existing differences (color, religion) to exploit both sections of the divided working class. But the stress laid on these differences by the workers themselves must be accepted as a fact of life. Some Northern Irish trade unions include both Catholics and Protestants, just as most American trade unions include both whites and blacks, but Conor tells an instructive little story about this:

> . . . one Belfast shop-steward, a Communist, told me that after years of trying to bring politics (i.e., left-wing politics) *into* the works, he was now devoting the same energy to keeping politics *out*, because politics inevitably meant sectarian conflict. He also described how management and shop-

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> stewards in this major plant were actually in a kind of collusion to engineer confrontations between "management and workers," in order to take men's minds off "the real conflict" which was capable of blowing the works apart, ruining men and management together. The "real conflict," which the carefully contrived "class struggle" ballet sought to avert, was that between Protestants and Catholics. Reality here stood classical Marxist theory on its head: the "false consciousness" fabricated here was *class* consciousness.

(Does something similar go on in U.S. plants at moments of racial tension, I wonder?) Conor's analysis here gains validity from the fact that he does not speak as an anti-Marxist: he has made good use of Marxist insights in all his books, even the most academic one, *Parnell and His Party*.

Another brilliant piece of analysis concerns the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland. Although the original leaders of this movement were "not merely non-sectarian, but sincerely and militantly *anti*-sectarian," its effect "has been to raise the level of *sectarian* consciousness." It has "encouraged the Catholics, and helped them to win important and long-overdue reforms," but in the process it has "frightened and angered Protestants." The reason, of course, was precisely that Protestants had been denying Catholics certain of their civil rights: the movement for black civil rights in the United States frightened and angered many whites. The civil rights liberals made possible the Black Power movement in the United States; the Provisional IRA is a more successful equivalent of Black Power in Northern Ireland. The British Army is now playing a role in Belfast and Derry that has been played by the National Guard in many U.S. cities.

I'm sorry that Conor says so little about education: one of the things that divides the two communities in Northern Ireland is segregated education. The fully state-supported schools are nonsectarian in theory, but in practice Catholics go to their own parochial schools, which also receive a great deal of support from the state. It is ironic that Protestant intolerance does not operate in the one field where it might do positive good. My analogy between blacks and Catholics also breaks down here, for the Catholics are responsible for segregation. For a united Ireland to work, all education would almost certainly have to be nonsectarian, but in the Republic at present almost all education below the university level, except for the vocational schools, is run by the Catholic Church.

Conor himself might be considered the best possible argument for desegregated schools, except that the supposedly nonsectarian prep school and university he attended were in fact largely Protestant. Nevertheless, had he been educated in any other way, he could hardly, as a Catholic, have gained the insight into Protestantism that makes *States of Ireland* so valuable. His first marriage put him in touch with a broad cross section of Northern Protestants, completing what his education had begun. He might never have grasped the siege mentality of the Northern Protestant without the help of his father-in-law Alec Foster: "No man had less of the siege-mentality, as far as personal relations were concerned, yet the siege of Derry was always in his heart and often on his lips." Protestant Derry, where at least one of my own ancestors died of wounds during the siege, held off its Irish Catholic besiegers in 1689 with great heroism; ironically, in 1969 the present Catholic majority of Derry's citizens sustained a briefer, less cruel siege in their ghetto, Bogside. Obviously, to understand the Northern Ireland situation an American has to learn a heap of Irish history. Conor spares him 1689, but the greater part of *States of Ireland* relates the history of both areas of Ireland from about 1880 to 1972, interwoven with the history of Conor's own immediate family, especially on his mother's side. Having known most of the members of the Sheehy family that he mentions, I can confirm that they were every bit as interesting, and varied in their political views, as he represents them. To Conor, Irish history came first of all as the history of his family. It has become fashionable in Dublin to write him off as the most Protestant of Irish Catholics; he may be that, but he is also among the most Irish of Irish Catholics. In other words, few men—and none so articulate—have as intimate a knowledge of *both* sides in Ireland as he does. He realizes to the full that Northern Protestants cling as tenaciously to their version of Irish history as Southern Catholics do to theirs. His weakest point is his comparative ignorance of the minds of Northern Catholics (does anybody in the Republic understand them?), but he has done a lot of homework to remedy that, some at the risk of his life.

In the end, this book is better at stating the magnitude of the problem than at offering a solution. It does, however, insist that any solution must be gradual and piecemeal: no panacea will work. To ease the way to a solution, the Republic must be prepared to change many of its ways and ultimately to effect a separation of church and state. As he so shrewdly notes, Catholics are afraid of Protestants but not of Protestantism, whereas Protestants are afraid of Catholicism but not of Catholics. He constantly urges the Republic to demythologize its history and put less emphasis on the 1916 Easter Rising against the British—that is, if we really want unity with the Northern Protestants, who like to think of themselves as British. On the other hand, the Protestants need to demythologize their history and their theology, with its vision of the Church of Rome as the Scarlet Woman bestriding the Beast of the Apocalypse. *States of Ireland* is already having an effect in Ireland: some of Conor's opponents, even, are making free with the word "demythologize," while I myself, in my humble role as a historian of Irish literature, am taking care not to wrap the green flag round me, as it is so easy to do.

Conor has made the same choice as his cousin, the late Sen. Owen Sheehy Skeffington, who was long the leading defender of civil rights in the Republic. Instead of power, he seeks truth; since that is not to be found, he will at least point out what he believes to be the truth. (As for love, my choice, he has found that too, perhaps because he never searched for it as anxiously as I did.) It sounds a lousy program for success in politics. He gives one particularly striking example of "bad politics into which I felt constrained to plunge." When a resolution calling for the release of all Irish political prisoners was proposed at a trade union conference in Galway, he rejected its facile "patriotic" appeal:

> I . . . got up and asked what was a political prisoner? If, for example, a man booby-trapped a car, putting children's lives at risk and killing innocent civilians—if that man were tried, sentenced and imprisoned, could he then become one of the political prisoners for whose release we were asked to call?

One might inquire why such a "bad" politician is in politics at all. Why doesn't he just stay home and write books, as many of our mutual friends in Ireland keep asking? His answer is unequivocal: if he weren't in politics, his books would have far less authority; he could be sneered at as a mere academic, afraid to put his theories to the test of the voters; at the same time his books enhance his ability to influence events as a politician.

Conor could never be so self-righteous as to say, "I would rather be right than be President"; if his views are so remote from practical politics that he cannot get re-elected, he will probably modify

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them. His immediate aim is peace: the most ingenious peace plan is useless if the warring parties won't accept it. Conor, the man who first had the idea of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (once known as the "Irish Plan") because it was the only nuclear limitation likely to be accepted by the United States and the USSR, knows better than anyone that politics is the art of the possible. By the time this review is in print, the Irish voters will have shown just how possible his position is. Win or lose, he will continue to be "the conscience of his race"—to adapt a Joycean phrase—and the wittiest, least sanctimonious writer on politics since Bernard Shaw. □

Lifting the Curse of Babel

PROTEUS, HIS LIES, HIS TRUTH: Discussions of Literary Translation. *By Robert M. Adams. W. W. Norton & Co. 192 pp. $7.95.*

PHILLIP CORWIN
Mr. Corwin has done translations from German. He is the author of a novel about Wall Street, entitled Getting Out Alive.

According to the unofficial rules of literary one-upmanship, the person who reads a classic in the language in which it was written, receives one or more merit points. Those who turn instead to translations receive countless demerits. The reader of translations is doubly culpable, for not only does he willingly taste of the fruits of imperfection but he also admits his own indolence. Much wiser, the rules imply, for an American to spend years learning Japanese and Chinese than to read *The Tale of Genji* and Lao-tzu in translation—right? Nuts!

To be even more specific: the schoolboy who reads Plutarch in classical Greek better appreciates and more deeply understands the Greek biographer than, say, William Shakespeare did, who read Plutarch in English, as translated by Sir Thomas North from the French of Amyot—right? Nuts again!

The point is that literary translations are not only inevitable but in most cases preferable, unless the reader is extremely adept in the tongue of the author. And where translations are not used exclusively (perhaps they never should be), they are still invaluable aids. Arthur Miller, who undertook to read Ibsen in Norwegian without knowing that language very well, could not have managed without translations. It was translations of Ibsen which inspired Miller in the first place to study Norwegian, and undoubtedly Miller had an English text at his elbow most of the time he was struggling to make sense out of (i.e., translate into English in his own mind) Ibsen's mother tongue.

Our attitudes toward literary translation have been distorted. The guardians of culture have suggested that the alternatives, for example, are to read Tolstoi in Russian, or to read a debased Tolstoi in translation. Not so. The more realistic choices are, for those of us who cannot handle Russian, to read Tolstoi in translation or not to read him at all. I, for one, choose to read *War and Peace* in Louise and Aylmer Maude's English, rather than miss Tolstoi completely. How closely the Maudes adhere to Count Leo's original text is to me a jejune argument. I refuse to be immobilized by the curse of Babel.

At the same time, one cannot deny that there are innumerable problems associated with translations, that there are good and bad translations, and that there is always *something* lost when moving from one language to another. And it is the desire to understand better that ineffable *something* that has spurred Prof. Robert Adams (himself a translator of Voltaire and Stendhal) to write a book on the topic. Significantly, Adams' book is subtitled "Discussions of Literary Translation"; in other words, it is a conversation on the subject rather than a series of rules.

For the most part, Adams' attitude toward literary translations is fairly conventional. He scorns them. Adams remarks: "The monocular fellow who reads only English is like a man obliged to buy from a used-car dealer; the best thing you can tell him is that they're all cheats, but it's sometimes possible to use one to check on another. The polyglot who speaks all languages needn't lower himself to consider translation one way or the other."

Yet there is no such creature as "the polyglot who speaks all languages," and those who read translations need not be superciliously dismissed as people who lower themselves. When I was in the Army, I knew a sergeant who was illiterate in eight languages. He never lowered himself to read anything in translation; but he never understood anything he read.

Adams' approach to his topic is to examine, through numerous examples, the various degrees of inequivalence involved in moving from one language to another. He is well aware there are no simple answers to the questions he poses.

> The chief contribution of a book *about* translation may be to make its readers conscious of the many ways in which a translation can succeed or fail, alert to the many different levels of equivalence. . . . The elusiveness of the topic lies entirely in that single equivocal concept, equivalence. It implies similarity in difference, differences in similarity: and of such paradoxes there is no quick end or easy resolution.

With amusing adeptness, Adams steers his course through the straits of multilingualism, pausing en route to discuss alternate versions of Homer and the Bible in English, Faulkner and Milton in French, Elizabeth Barrett Browning in German, and James Joyce in several languages. Predictably, Adams is most convincing when working with the languages he knows best: French and English. His brief discussion of the differences between the titles of Stendhal's *la Chartreuse de Parme*, and its conventional English rendering, *The Charterhouse of Parma*, is brilliant. And his tribute to Ezra Pound's "Homage to Sextus Propertius," in a chapter entitled "Imitations," is singularly appropriate:

> One thing he [Pound] does not do at all is conscript Propertius into the service of his own poetical voice; it is an authentic "homage" he has written. And the freedom he claimed for a translator to seek out cultural equivalents—however it may have been abused, whatever its side effects in fostering amid readers of translations an appetite for cross-cultural wisecracks—can scarcely be overvalued.

The ultimate issue, however, when dealing with translations is not one of equivalence alone, as Adams acknowledges. It is one of communication, an even more formidable concept. How does an author communicate with a reader, whatever the choice of word symbols and whatever the century, given the fact that the consciousness of every individual is complex, dynamic, and in some ways unique? The answer is that we do not know, but that it is possible; indeed, it is done every day.

Conventional attitudes toward literary translation, largely formed in those citadels of unreality, the academies, have misplaced the emphasis on the subject. They have been heavily utopian. They have concentrated on petty imperfections to the extent that they have too often lacked a wide perspective. The point is that translation works, that it works unbelievably well—best of all with the classics, which are usually done by the greatest writers in every language—and that it actually enhances and enriches the meaning of the original text by expanding the audience.

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Certainly the Bible, the Koran, Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, Goethe and Dante have been read by millions, rarely in the original, and have been apprehended and appreciated in the deepest ways; hence, their universality. There is an undeniable social dimension to literature, an interrelationship between reader and writer that benefits both parties. To argue otherwise is to be a cultural elitist.

The only precaution a reader must take when not reading a text in the original language is to be reasonably certain that the translator is adequately qualified—and that fact is not so hard to establish. It doesn't matter that much whether the English reader of Homer uses Lattimore's or W. E. D. Rouse's version; both men were accomplished scholars. Even Alexander Pope's heroic couplets, which may grate on modern ears, manage to communicate quite well the nobility and grandeur of Homer's Greek, for Pope was a great poet. Besides, the skeptical reader can always refer to more than one translation.

Finally, the example Adams gives of *The Sound and the Fury* being translated into French by Maurice Coindreau in 1937, can be used to prove the opposite of what Adams contends. To be sure, the challenge was momentous. Faulkner's idiosyncracies of dialect, syntax and regional color are enough to baffle even a native American, let alone a Frenchman. Here is what Adams has to say about Coindreau's text: "It isn't on the whole a bad translation. . . . Yet, every so often, where Faulkner's syntax gets loose and his allusions casual, one finds an idiom slipping past M. Coindreau unrecognized and unrendered." Later Adams remarks that "the larger and more pervasive problem with M. Coindreau's translation is the matter of dialect." Adams concludes: "M. Coindreau's low-voltage version transmits to its readers a good deal less than the full energy of Faulkner's novel."

And yet a good case could be made for showing how well Coindreau succeeded, for in spite of its human imperfections, *le Bruit et la fureur* laid the foundation for Faulkner's substantial reputation in France. Faulkner was read by the French, admired, and he even exerted some literary influence. The energy allegedly lost in the French version was more than balanced by the energy brought *to* Faulkner by an avid French readership. (Furthermore, subsequent translation of Faulkner into other languages also worked—well enough to achieve for him the international acclaim that culminated in his being awarded the Nobel Prize.)

The issue, at last, is one of emphasis. Robert Adams does a commendable job in dramatizing the inequalities that inevitably exist in any translation. Nonetheless, translation is an art form too, and should be respected. True, it is advisable for serious students of literature to learn more languages, to read bilingual editions wherever possible, and to refer to more than one translation when unable to work in the language of the original text. But at the same time there is a pressing cultural need for more good translations. The curse of Babel is not immortal; it can be exorcised by the power of the human mind. □

That Gentlemanly Revolution

FROM RESISTANCE TO REVOLUTION: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776. *By Pauline Maier. Alfred A. Knopf. 318 pp. $10.*

RAMON POWERS
Formerly with the University of Missouri (Kansas City), Mr. Powers is at present teaching history at the Haskell Indian Junior College, Lawrence, Kan.

For more than a decade the intellectual history of the American Revolution has been the subject of critical study by Bernard Bailyn of Harvard. His *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) and *The Origins of American Politics* (New York, 1968) revived and redirected the study of early American political thought by focusing on the English background and the psychological response of the colonists following the period of "salutary neglect." Young scholars trained under Professor Bailyn have produced important studies of the ideology of the American Revolution, the most significant of these being Gordon Wood's *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1969). The latest book to come from the Bailyn school is Pauline Maier's *From Resistance to Revolution.*

Focusing on the ideas of the colonial radicals, Professor Maier has added an important dimension to the intellectual history of the Revolution. Her thesis, an extension of the neo-Whig view, is succinctly expressed in the quotation she reproduces from Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*: "The Revolution of the United States was the result of a mature and reflecting preference for freedom, not of a vague or ill-defined craving for independence. It contracted no alliance with the turbulent passions of anarchy, but its course was marked, on the contrary, by a love of order and law." The conservative impulse that informs this statement is here elevated to a greater significance than it has previously received. As if to refute conclusively the notions of class conflict and social radicalism in the American Revolution, notions held by the old Progressive historians and young Radicals, Professor Maier analyzes in detail the writings and declarations of the Radical colonial leaders.

Drawing on a previously published essay, "Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth-Century America," the first chapter of Professor Maier's study treats the ways by which 18th-century Americans came to accept the necessity of extralegal uprisings. She shows how people became involved in resistance to Britain as a result of their own tradition and experience rather than as a consequence of radical colonial leadership in the colonies. The more important theme, however, is that these early uprisings over local issues were "extra-institutional" and not "anti-institutional." Indeed, local magistrates often abetted the efforts of resisters who regarded their uprisings as defensive in nature. Maier discusses numerous defensive uprisings such as that of the tobacco rioters who sought relief from their economic plight, the merchant seamen who rioted in protest against the "pressing" of their members from the streets for service on British warships, and violent opposition to customs enforcement on the part of colonists contending with the British monopoly of foreign trade. And, according to Maier, "uprisings occurred only when the normal channels of redress had proven inadequate." She analyzes American crowd behavior in these uprisings or riots in the context of Rude's study of European crowds, and she argues that American crowds were discriminating and restrained in their activity. To maintain that position it is necessary to argue that the British authorities were arrogant and arbitrary in carrying out official policy; Maier quotes approvingly colonial authorities who referred to English excisemen as "thugs and brutes who beat up their victims without compunction or stole or wrecked their property."

Maier's analysis of the intellectual roots of colonial resistance and rebel-

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lion constitutes her major contribution to the history of the American Revolution. Popular uprisings of the period raised fundamental legal and intellectual problems involving social order and the legality of force. The author suggests that in the thinking of colonial Americans, "The precise legal offense lay not so much in the purpose of the uprising as in its use of force and violence 'wherein the Law does not allow the Use of such Force.'" The local sheriff or constable was empowered to use force. Yet, if a *posse* used excessive force in treating resistance, "its members acted illegally and were indictable for riot." It would seem that no Chicago police riot could be condoned by ideologists of this persuasion.

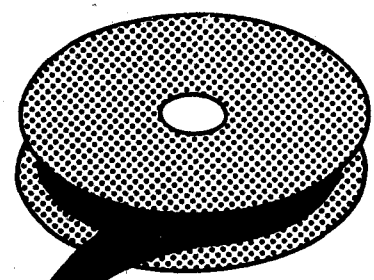
The problem, as we know, is more complex than that. What happens when "the legality of the act officials are attempting to enforce [is] itself disputed"? The decision then as to who is a rioter and who is not becomes subjective. Such a conclusion was legally untenable, so the colonists expended considerable effort in setting down and enforcing guidelines for resistance. In discouraging popular disorders, colonial legislators were concerned with preventing perversions of law and order by the established authorities as well as by insurgents. Maier concludes that, "Since turbulence indicated above all some shortcoming in government, it was never to be met by increasing the authorities' power of suppression." This legacy provides the underpinnings for an American liberal or radical reform tradition which held that "Uprisings were to be answered by reform, by attacking the 'disease'. . . that lay behind them rather than by suppressing its 'symptoms.'" Or, as one colonist wrote in 1768, "the only effectual way to prevent [uprisings] is to govern with wisdom, justice, and moderation." For most contemporary advocates of law and order these notions have been obscured by the misguided assumption that law and order is equivalent to loyalty to the state.

The chapter on the ideology of resistance and restraint elaborates on the colonists' "firm commitment to an idealized version of the British regime [which] . . . embodied an almost conservative desire to prevent it from further change or decay." This idea is not new with Maier and in fact she does not develop the social basis for this colonial reaction. Rather she goes into detail on the subtle impulse toward resistance and the need to justify it in conservative terms. The decision of the colonists to act in opposition to their governors and eventually to the King was a difficult one to arrive at; judgments had to be made about the chances of success, and the evils that violence might create, as against the consequences of continued submission to injustice.

In theory, revolution was justified when the sovereign had forfeited its authority by its own unlawful acts. As Bailyn and other historians of the Whig tradition have shown, in the eyes of the colonists, Charles I and James II had "unkinged" themselves before the people rebelled against them. Whig theory and practice involved the complex problem of justifying, when necessary, extralegal authority and, on the other hand, of avoiding anarchy "to effect an 'orderly' revolution."

In actual practice, guidelines for resistance were developed by colonial radicals in response to the spontaneous Stamp Act riots in 1765. At first the radical leaders reluctantly justified mob activities, but when these were carried so far as to alienate the support of moderates, the leaders dissociated themselves from the riots. Extraordinary efforts were made to "prevent mischief," according to Maier. Boycotts were soon substituted for domestic violence, so that "opposition could retreat from the streets to the spinning wheel." Organized resistance to the Crown in general emerged only after opposition to the Stamp Act had been under way for some time, and the identification of that opposition with the Sons of Liberty was never formalized.

In describing the broadening of the social base of resistance, Maier's analysis is not quite adequate to the problem. She indicates that the committee members of the Sons of Liberty "were drawn almost entirely from the middle and upper ranks of colonial society." That assessment appears to be the extent of her account of the role of the colonial radicals in helping to crystallize the movement toward revolution. This is in keeping with her thesis that the leadership of the radical movement was moderate in temper, which she substantiates by quoting extensively the



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radical leaders' exhortations against violence.

Although repeal of the Stamp Act led to partial disbanding of the Sons of Liberty, the Townshend Act provoked further unrest and corroded "that ultimate faith in British rule which had characterized the Stamp Act resistance." Nonimportation agreements resulted in the fusing of official institutions (i.e., provincial legislatures and town meetings) with the resistance movement. Maier argues that the nonimportation debates were "above all political" methods of peaceful coercion for recovering liberty. Recent studies of the changing balance of trade between England and the colonies during this period, however, call such an interpretation into question.

As resistance revived, committees began to speak and act openly in the name of the people, and coercion of nonconformers appeared more justified. Royal officials refused to acknowledge colonial arguments that certain acts of Parliament were illegal, and responded by calling for troops. The consequence, naturally, was increased colonial suspicion of and hostility to royal designs. Yet, according to Maier, the commitment of the colonies to law and order led them to believe that their petitions to England were being misrepresented by designing ministers; their faith in and loyalty to the monarch persisted until almost the very end. Only when the Americans realized that "mistakes or passions" could not explain England's actions did resistance turn to revolution.

The most intriguing chapter in *From Resistance to Revolution* is entitled

BLUE SPACES

(Translated from the Spanish by W. S. Merwin and Betty Ferber)

1

The horse that comes like fire
the horse spark music
distance drinker lightning behind walls

the horse
ghost or son of the instant just ended

the horse that flies over the ground

the horse that burns
in the ritual speed of the animals

the sun finds him running through the dawn
agile as a poem

2

I'm going to the boats of solitude
where a man takes refuge at night

in this pure refuge
nothing moves faster than the dream

mountains rivers and holy trees
protect the road of the lost men
and a single rhythmic breath warms the shadows

and among those beings called by desire I am free
and I caress the darkness as a branch caresses the water

3

Noon divides the stream
into slender halves of sound
forces from the beast's back
crackling and smoke

noon has drunk
everything that is moist,
all that breathes
is at rest within me

the houses and the tree
have darkness beneath them
eyes of red earth
drink in the open blue

light and your look
speak to each other
across this rising river
of shadowless words

4

The bird in the air is fire

its feathers that fall are life
of a green of infinite colors

when it becomes visible among the flames
all the birds of the earth die

5

Night fills all the streams
the hanging branches and the grove

the sparkling beast skin made audible by light
the multiple yellow budding in precise lines
the quiet green sound sown of swift existence

the ray fixed and soft on every back
the clawprint set in mud like a gesture
the shell that was once a lyre
the blind animal stumbling
lost in invisible cages

man troubled by his own silence
the wingless ox moving
with the swaying of the grass

the owl that lives nailed between the hours
until death tears him out like a dry branch

the wind flung wide in which a wing is heard
the prodigious sack like a withered pear
the vast fabric of moist animalia
in which greens and oranges and reds
and feathers and luminous skins
are slowly drying

6

Each wave is the water

one is man

green and leaves go together
wings and the air

the rivers are this River

and the ark goes alone through the night

Homero Aridjis

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"The International Sons of Liberty and the Ministerial Plot, 1768-1770." Underlying the sympathies that the colonists expressed for other resistance movements of the time was the belief that "No man . . . could be a sincere lover of liberty who was not in favor of communicating that blessing to all peoples." In the period of 1765 to 1772 the American colonists identified their cause with those of Pascal Paoli in Corsica, John Wilkes in England, and other lesser figures in Europe. It is Maier's contention that the failure of these radical leaders abroad pushed the colonists "clearly if reluctantly, onto the path toward revolution." The colonists assumed royal innocence until the failure of the petition movements in England, Ireland and the colonies in the early 1770s. Ideologically, the denial of the doctrine of the King's innocence led inevitably to the justification of revolution. The end of hope for help from England resulted from the failure of the newly formed Parliament in 1774 to endorse the reforms of the Bill of Rights Society. The agitation of the early 1770s prepared the colonists to compromise their differences; by 1773, the radical leaders had already prepared the American populace for an uprising that would amount to a genuine revolution.

To Maier that movement began as a British Revolution:

> The colonists were, however [in 1775] not yet consciously molding an *American* war or an *American* revolution. They sought rather a British revolution, one that would reconstitute the British government with new rulers and a firmer establishment of basic rights and thereby save not only America, but Britain, too.

This thesis is not new, but it receives its most convincing support from Maier's study. The social basis for similar conclusions about the cause and nature of the Revolution has been made by Gordon Wood and Jack Greene. They suggest that rising social tension due to increasing disparity in wealth caused the reaction; the response of the colonists was to idealize their English and colonial past. But the fact that their response was more English than American seems significant only because it is a typical reaction of colonial peoples rebelling against their mother country.

The basic shortcoming of Maier's study is that her interpretation of the Revolution appears dated in the light of the many excellent studies of 18th-century social and economic history. She unfortunately accepts without question the dictum of liberal history that ideas are primary in history, and that history is shaped by ideas rather than by social relations and the interplay of economic interests. Such a view implicitly assumes an elitist bias in that political and cultural leaders who write books, pamphlets and newspapers are made the determinants of historical change. This has been the major drawback of the work of Bailyn and his students on the Revolution; ironically the same Bailyn seminars that initiated studies such as this one also set in motion demographic and social analyses of colonial society which take us to the very core of early American life (see for example the work of Philip Greven, Jr.) and to a more profound understanding of the social and psychological dimensions of the Revolution.

While not denying the importance of ideas in history (particularly popular, widely accepted ideas), social and economic historians have caused us to question this liberal view of the Revolution. Marc Egnal and Joseph A. Ernst have recently published a convincing article, "An Economic Interpretation of the American Revolution" (*The William and Mary Quarterly*, January 1972), in which they show the growth of a whig elite's self-conscious strength, increased awareness of the need for economic sovereignty, and the involvement of urban "lower orders" and small farmers. A study by Charles S. Olton (*The Journal of American History*, September 1972) of mechanics in Philadelphia who were involved in agitation prior to the Revolution indicates that matters of economic equity and political participation were primary issues for that economic group. Jesse Lemisch's pioneering work on the merchant seamen of the period confirms the suggestion that economic issues were most important in forming the political attitudes of that group. And Gordon Wood argues that social tensions in colonial society were prime catalysts of the Revolution and the source of the peculiar ideology of republicanism.

The concern of historians, Liberal and Radical, with ideology as a force in helping to bring about the Revolution has inhibited investigation of the economic and social conditions of ordinary people during the period. When we have a perspective on American society before the Revolution which includes the lives of the majority of the population, we will be better able to assess the varied role of ideas and social conditions as causes of the upheaval. □

RECORDS

DAVID HAMILTON

BEETHOVEN: Cello Sonatas Nos. 1-5. Pierre Fournier, cello; Artur Schnabel, piano. Seraphim IB 6075. $5.96 (two discs, mono; recorded 1947/48).

Here and there Schnabel indulges in a cavalier approach to the score's specifications, but his rhythmic address, both in embracing the extended phraseologies of the slow material and in releasing the bounding energies of the fast movements, remains unique. The contrapuntal substance of the last two sonatas (Op. 105) is displayed with exceptional clarity; the pianist's sophistication sets off Fournier's more straightforward, even naive, presentation to create a useful tension that comprehends and underlines the tonal differences between bowed and hammered strings. The last three sonatas were once before briefly available on LP, but the earlier works (Op. 5) are issued for the first time ever in this valuable bargain package.

JOACHIM: Hungarian Concerto in D minor. Aaron Rosand, violin. Radio Luxembourg Orchestra; Siegfried Köhler, cond. Candide CE 31064. $3.98 (with works by Hubay and Enesco).

Assiduous readers of Donald Francis Tovey's *Essays in Musical Analysis* (recently and happily issued in paperback by Oxford University Press) may be tempted to jump at this record, recalling the great commentator's lavish encomia for the work of Brahms's friend, one of the major figures in the history of the violin: "To students of composition and music history it is one of the most im-

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portant documents of the middle of the nineteenth century." Deplorably, what the liner notes describe as "judicious minor cuts" turn out to comprise the entire opening tutti of the first movement, so that we can hardly confirm Tovey's observations that "the solo exposition has entirely avoided the effect of a transcription of the opening tutti," or that "in accordance with Mozart's principles the recapitulation follows rather the course of the opening tutti than that of the first solo."

Among what is left, the inventive and often spectacular fiddle writing, the expansive thematic material of the central *Romanze*, and the pervasive rhythmic spirit commend themselves to more serious attention than they receive here, in a performance that makes effective contact only with the Hungarian "local color" touches—hardly the work's most original or distinctive features. The coupled works suggest that Joachim is being misconstrued as an avatar of the so-called "Romantic revival," but his aims —and very possibly his achievements— are evidently somewhat higher than that. Perhaps Messrs. Perlman and Levine, or some of their compeers, will address themselves to the task of presenting this work properly. □

Dinner Theatres

JEROME LANDFIELD
Mr. Landfield was formerly the art critic at CBS Radio in Chicago. He is now director of theatre programming at Roosevelt University (Chicago).

Chicago

Theatre in Chicago is managing well to survive the decline of the large commercial houses in the Loop. While downtown theatres, such as the Studebaker, have trouble attracting audiences and are frequently dark, smaller professional theatres, scattered around the city and extending into the suburbs, enjoy steady patronage. Theatre enterprise, always perilous, has here taken on remarkable strength when it has become involved with food. All nine of Chicago's year-round, outer-city theatres are flourishing because they also operate restaurants, or benefit from restaurants nearby.

It all started quite by accident about fifteen years ago, when a wind blew the tent of a summer theatre down on top of Marie Wilson and *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* The tent theatre, pitched in the parking lot of the Martinique Restaurant, then went inside to the basement of the restaurant, and year-round professional dinner theatre began in Chicago.

To the knowledge of Tony De Santis, owner of the restaurant and theatre, no other such dinner/theatre enterprise then existed in the country. It was also the first time that year-round professional theatre had operated in Chicago since the stock companies of the 1920s. Three of these dinner-related theatres have opened within the past two years, a period undistinguished by general economic growth. Hardly any dinner theatre has failed. Instead, most of them have expanded, relocated in new quarters, or begun in a handsome new building. Some are planning expansion or new quarters.

Before the dinner theatres got going, neighboring theatres and restaurants had long enjoyed the symbiotic benefit, particularly in the summer, of attracting the same patrons. The oldest summer theatre in the Midwest, the Shady Lane Playhouse, now in its thirty-first season, opened four years after the adjacent Shady Lane Restaurant was established. Set in farming country near Marengo, about 60 miles northwest of the Loop, Shady Lane imports actors from New York and presents only comedies. Ray Curnow, the present owner-producer, says "*Death of a Salesman* would be the death of Shady Lane." Two other summer theatre and restaurant combinations followed the Shady Lane pattern. In 1949, Marshall Migatz was the first to bring guest stars to local summer theatre with his Chevy Chase Summer Theatre, which did fairly well, although the adjacent country club restaurant and bar did better. In the early 1950s, the Villa Moderne, now called the London House North, sponsored summer musicals in an adjacent tent theatre. Neither summer theatre lasted more than a few years, suggesting that dinner theatres need year-round continuity to survive.

What started as a similar combination was, as noted, blown by the wind into Chicago's first year-round dinner theatre. Since 1940, Tony De Santis had run the old Martinique Restaurant, located in a modest neighborhood in Evergreen Park, 13 miles southwest of the Loop. From 1951, De Santis allowed the Drury Lane Summer Tent Theatre to operate on his parking lot. The theatre enjoyed free rent and De Santis got the food and drink business. The arrangement worked so well that when he built a sumptuous new Martinique nearby, the summer tent theatre followed. After a succession of producers and the big wind of 1957, De Santis became boss of both theatre and restaurant, hiring producers, directors, visiting stars and local jobbers, who fill supporting roles. In 1965, he built a handsome new theatre-in-the-round as part of the restaurant complex.

Although reluctant to give details, De Santis proudly describes Drury Lane as "the most successful theatre of its type in the world," and attributes its success to "plays suitable to family audiences." But the formula includes more than innocuous vehicles. The key is live-star appeal at a modest price. The show, with a good meal, tax, tip and parking, costs about $7. It attracts blue-collar and other patrons of moderate income. De Santis has also pushed group sales, with more than 100 churches and clubs using the dinner-theatre package for their annual fund raisers. Running continually at near capacity, Drury Lane no longer needs the critics, who usually snoot the shows. Forrest Tucker's eight-week run with something called *Rock-a-Bye Daddy* sold out before it opened—this at about the time when the touring production of *Company* canceled its Loop engagement because of poor advance sales. De Santis spent $315,000 on a penthouse apartment overlooking Lake Michigan, for the use of visiting stars. (One star describes its décor as "early Alice Faye.") Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., lured out of semi-retirement to do *The Pleasure of His Company* at Drury Lane, was so encouraged that he has since toured with the show. As a moneymaker, the Drury Lane-Martinique combination may well be, as De Santis claims, the most successful operation of its kind.

RAVEN'S DELIGHT

Twisting our way
we climbed a spire
to the stars,
melting in the morning.
A raven greeted us,
all shining black,
and flew off when
he saw we were safe
from the lamb.
The trees below
were black
and swarming with sound,
so we climbed higher
until the earth
was simply a golden
ball where
a single mushroom grew—
a feast for the gods
and the raven's delight.

Peter Hoheisel

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Technically, though, Drury Lane is not a dinner theatre at all. Actors' Equity's definition of a dinner playhouse is one where the audience views the show from the tables where they eat. Eat-in, as distinguished from eat-nearby, theatre came to Chicago with William Pullinsi and the Candlelight Dinner Playhouse. Pullinsi began in 1959 with a summer dinner theatre in Washington, D.C. It did not last, a contributing factor being that Pullinsi was then only 19 years old. In 1961, he returned to Chicago and started the Candlelight Dinner Playhouse in a remodeled, family-owned building in Summit, a few miles northwest of Drury Lane. He followed the De Santis formula by aiming for a moderate-income audience, with group sales and low tab, but departed from it with an eat-in theatre and a policy of using only local professionals. He probably coined the term, "dinner playhouse," and did so well that in 1964 he built the new Candlelight, the first building designed as an eat-in theatre, and probably still the best equipped in the country. Tables rise in tiers from the arena stage, supported by two large elevators. Scenery is changed at the basement level, and the set is out of sight before the show begins, during intermission, and after the show, when the stage becomes a dance floor. The start of the show is an arresting sight: waiters clear the tables (no service during the show), the table lamps dim simultaneously, and in seconds a full set appears, as if from nowhere.

Unlike most dinner-theatre owners, Pullinsi is a theatre man first, producing and directing his own shows; his designer-technical director supervises the food service. Candlelight feeds its customers at cost and makes its money from the theatre. The package costs a little less than that at Drury Lane, the food is not as good, but the shows are usually better. Beginning with comedies and an occasional costly departure like Albee's *Everything in the Garden*, Candlelight has settled down with musicals. Both *Man of La Mancha* and *Fiddler on the Roof* (which compared favorably with the road companies of *Fiddler* that have played Chicago) have had runs of more than a year. Pullinsi's success has enabled him to build a second theatre, the Forum.

Before the Forum, though, several other dinner theatres had become well established, following either the De Santis (eat-nearby) or the Pullinsi (eat-in) pattern. The Country Club Theatre opened on New Year's Eve, 1962, in the basement of the Old Orchard Country Club, near Mt. Prospect, about 22 miles northwest of the Loop. Using local actors plus a few who come to audition from out of town, this eat-nearby theatre concentrates on comedies, although the last producer-director, Norman Rice, occasionally included more serious plays. A new country club theatre is being planned as part of a proposed hotel and high-rise complex on the country club property.

Carl Stohn, Jr., a prominent local producer, combined the De Santis star-vehicle show with the Pullinsi eat-in formula when he opened the Pheasant Run Theatre in 1964. This dinner playhouse, more modest than the Candlelight, was built as part of a resort complex, the Pheasant Run Lodge, near St. Charles, about 35 miles west of the Loop. Stohn, who had worked as producer for De Santis at Drury Lane, firmly believes his patrons want the relaxation of light comedies and come to see a star. A heavy play would "die, die, die!" The theatre profits from the Lodge's patrons: tourists, locals on weekend holiday, businessmen attending meetings.

The food-related theatre which local critics have taken most seriously, the Ivanhoe, began as a restaurant in 1920. When the neighborhood began to deteriorate, Richard Jansen, the owner, decided to rebuild and include a theatre. He acknowledges following the De Santis pattern with a restaurant-owned, eat-nearby theatre. He hired as producer Chuck Booth, who then worked for De Santis. Even the theatre, a classy, in-the-round house which opened in 1966, resembles Drury Lane's interior. For two years with local actors, the theatre broke about even, but restaurant sales increased 35 to 40 per cent. Jansen then decided to lure the affluent, knowledgeable North Shore theatre audience with more ambitious productions. He hired from the East a young producer-director, George Keathley. Enjoying a free hand as well as a first-class plant and working capital, Keathley has done shows that have exceeded Jansen's hopes. He imports stars, but rather than faded queens or television personalities, they are well-known actors like Rita Moreno, who can sustain a commercial-gutsy play like *The Rose Tattoo.*

Of all the dinner-theatre combinations,

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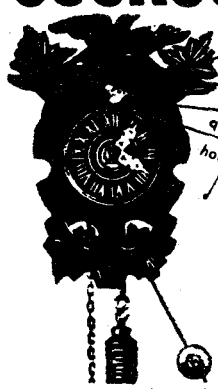

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the Ivanhoe has most effectively maintained separate strength and equal quality of restaurant and theatre, each attracting its own clientele. Keathley insists that the Ivanhoe Theatre is not a dinner theatre at all, but the restaurant does better business with a comedy at the theatre. Even a muted comedy like *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, breaking even at the theatre, caused poor business at the restaurant. The people who go for lighter entertainment, and there are more of them, also eat and drink more. But Jansen's concern for equal strength at the theatre enables Keathley to compromise less to commercial appeal than does any other food-show producer in town.

Of the other flourishing dinner theatres, the In the Round Dinner Playhouse opened in 1966, just a few months after the Ivanhoe. It is an eat-in, musical theatre, about 15 miles southwest of the Loop. Mariann Walters, an excellent local actress who works steadily, starred in *Hello, Dolly!* for fifty-four weeks. The owners now also run a similar dinner theatre in a shopping center in Omaha.

Just last year, the Arlington Park Theatre opened within a complex of facilities that includes the race track. The corporate owner of the track built a new theatre building to the specifications of the producers, who were also attracted by the location, near expressways and about 32 miles from the Loop. The restaurant, connected to the theatre by an all-weather breezeway, has since opened a third dining room to accommodate theatre patrons. Guest-star comedies sustain the theatre. Burt Reynolds sold out with two shows, the last being *The Rainmaker*, which prompted admiring ladies to toss their room keys at his feet during curtain calls. David Lonn, now the sole producer of the Arlington Park Theatre, is eager to do more shows like his recent *Death of a Salesman*, with Jack Warden and Jo Van Fleet. Although, as Lonn foresaw, it did not make money, *Death of a Salesman* was not the death of Arlington Park. To remain solvent, he simply followed it with more guest-star comedies.

The latest addition, which opened just last April, is Paolella's Rustic Barn Dinner Theatre, operating in the remodeled second-floor banquet room of the existing Rustic Barn Restaurant, 27 miles west of the Loop. Food business has increased enough to encourage Paolella to continue his dinner theatre year-round with comedies and local actors.

The last of Chicago's outer-city professional theatres to be mentioned, the Forum, opened without food nearby, yet owes its existence to food. This new thrust stage, proscenium theatre, which opened at the beginning of 1972, adjoins the Candlelight Dinner Playhouse. William Pullinsi, the owner of both, built the Forum because the Candlelight was so successful with long runs that he did not work enough as director. Now 32 and no longer the boy wonder of Chicago theatre, Pullinsi wants to do better plays than he can afford to do at the Candlelight, and to provide an outlet for Chicago actors to expand themselves in challenging roles. Without the financial base of the Candlelight, the Forum neither could have been built nor could it survive this critical period, when it is trying to build a serious theatre audience. The first production, Marasco's *Child's Play*, earned the Forum critical praise for the venture, the plant and the show, but it played to only 50 per cent capacity. Attendance went above 60 per cent with the American première of Peter Nichols' *The National Health*. The third show was a sparkling production of *Company*, considered too risky for its touring company to play downtown. Even though *Company* has done well, Pullinsi now knows that the Forum cannot survive as a theatre alone. As a result, he has built a restaurant addition, which is serviced by the Candlelight's kitchen. With food at hand, the Forum will probably survive.

Thus dinner theatres flourish in all possible combinations in Chicago: eat-in and eat-nearby, star shows and those with local actors only, modest price combinations and separate, higher prices for each. Production levels range from mediocre to impressive. This new commercial theatre provides not always adventurous, but usually pleasant, entertainment; it's widely patronized. It attracts people who have never seen theatre before, and some of them acquire a taste for it. It has fostered premières; it allows a lot of actors to work and live here. At the end of July, for instance, more Equity actors (136) were working in dinner-related theatres than those (111) working in theatres having no connection with food. Without these nine houses Chicago theatre would be in trouble. □

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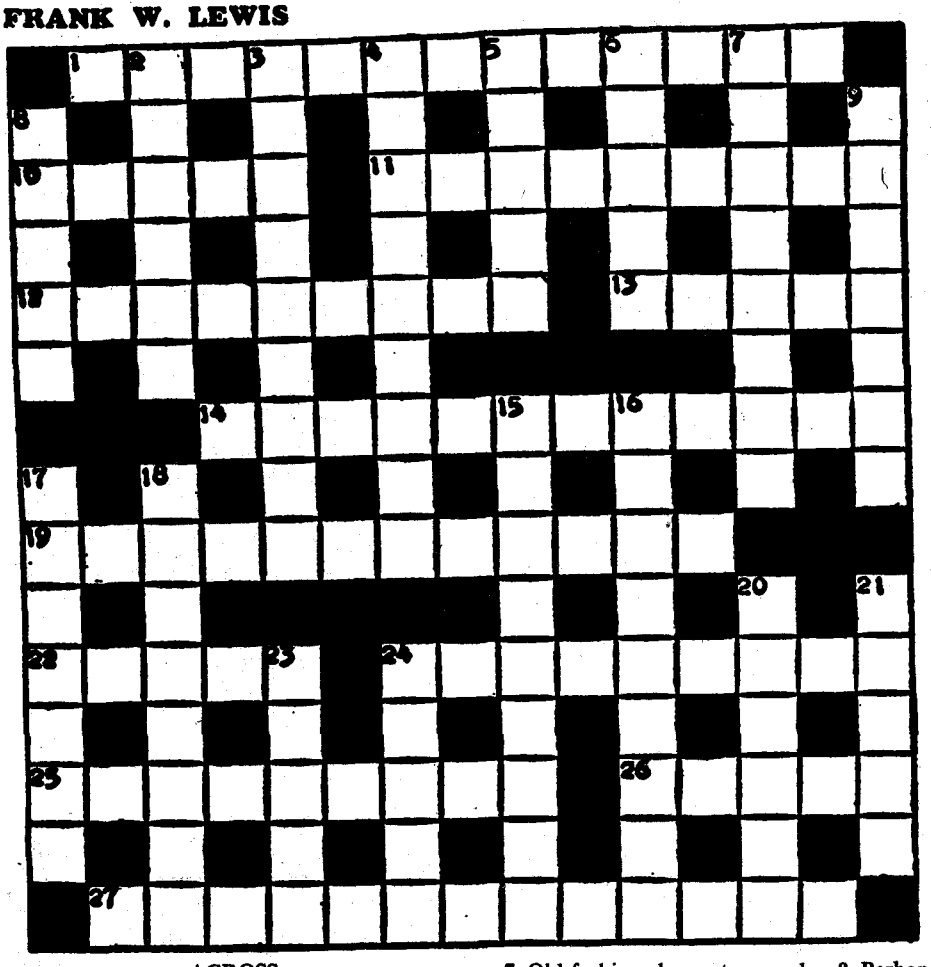

ACROSS

1 You might find one on Friday, traditionally, in one of South America's flowers. (3-6,4)
10 Not the battle dress of a Mohammedan leader. (5)
11 Much closer than Big Bertha's range. (4,5)
12 Is one supposed to be by Haydn in at least one symphony? (9)
13 and 6 down Walks, as the usual alternative, with some lack of traditional politeness. (5,5)
14 Delicately poised where one might prefer to see other than red? (2,3,7)
19 And his sort, with father's effort applied, might be good with a fast break. (6,6)
22 Makes beer injure the skin, one hears.
24 With heads broken, the injured might logically have such a psychological symptom. (5,4)
25 Coming out originally as a sort of 1, with no angle attached. (9)
26 Youngsters of 13, if Cockney. (5)
27 How the marriage sometimes starts by overall confusion in the act. (6,7)

DOWN

2 Provide one way to cross the stream, by the sound of it. (6)
3 They leave the country—obviously streaming out of it. (9)
4 It doesn't involve a single loading operation if you do. (9)
5 Is the person with no fixed abode happy? Evidently not! (5)
7 Old-fashioned court procedure? Perhaps there's a current gap. (8)
8 How to acquire what Paris was worth to Henri IV? (5)
9 Is such a lawyer a trifle short, with the remainder in doubt? (7)
15 Appear to get over a broken leg, and put a lot of ornaments on. (9)
16 Somewhat slow movement when the deity of the house takes restrictive quarters. (9)
17 One might take them in, naturally, as a composition of Delibes. (7)
18 Fix an earlier time to put up fruit. (8)
20 We might not like to see cells in this shape, proving all is not well with the French. (6)
21 The top of the trunk might be used as a dresser. (5)
23 One in the sun, perhaps, might be climbed. (5)
24 Get the sort of help a short line provides in the food-supply business. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1479

ACROSS: 1 and 15 Attorney General; 5 Basset; 10 Guest; 11 Alternate; 12 Acacias; 13 Incense; 14 and 28 Intersperse; 18 Handsaw; 21 Reside; 24 Gas tank; 26 and 17 down Keep off the grass; 27 Airplanes; 29 Siwash; 30 Unframed. DOWN: 1 and 19 Augean stables; 2 and 7 The Rain in Spain; 3 Ratline; 4 Elapses; 6 African; 8 The Bells; 9 String; 16 Radiogram; 20 Waking; 21 Rakes in; 22 Sleeper; 23 Offend; 25 Shrew.

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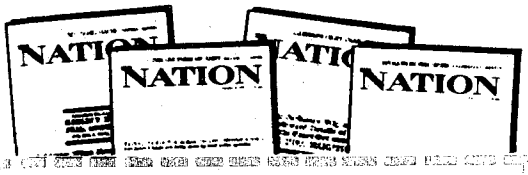

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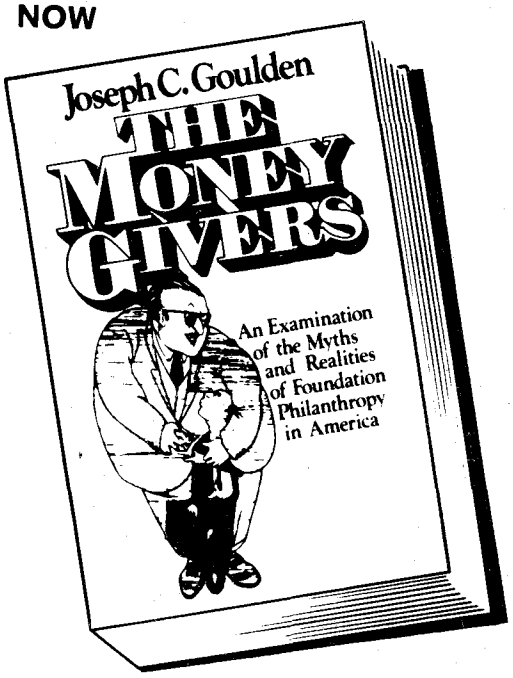

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